



Henry

THE

Hardy

HISTORY OF AMERICA, IN TWO BOOKS.

CONTAINING,

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2 *A Concise History of the late*

Revolution.

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A
GENERAL HISTORY
OF
A M E R I C A.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

Extent and Boundaries of America—Grand objects which it presents to view—its Mountains—Rivers—Lakes—its excessive Luxuriance of Vegetation—remarkable Prevalence of Cold—accounted for—Climate not malignant—nor uncommonly infested with Insects and noxious Reptiles.

AMERICA is one of the four quarters of the world, probably, the largest of the whole, and is, from its late discovery, frequently denominated the *New-World*, or *New Hemisphere*.

This vast country extends from the 80th degree of north, to the 56th degree of south, latitude; and, where its breadth is known, from the 35th to the 136th degree of west longitude from

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London;

London; stretching between 8000 and 9000 miles in length, and its greatest breadth 3690. It sees both hemispheres, has two summers and a double winter, and enjoys almost all the variety of climates which the earth affords. It is washed by the two great oceans. To the eastward, it has the Atlantic, which divides it from Europe and Africa; to the west, it has the Pacific or Great South-Sea, by which it is separated from Asia. By these seas it may, and does, carry on a direct commerce with the other three parts of the world.

America is not of equal breadth throughout its whole extent; but is divided into two great continents, called *North*, and *South America*, by an isthmus 1500 miles long, and which, at Darien, about Lat. 9° N. is only 60 miles over. This isthmus forms, with the northern and southern continents, a vast gulph, in which lie a great number of islands, called the *West-Indies*, in contradistinction to the eastern parts of Asia, which are called the *East-Indies*.

“Next to the extent of the New-World, the grandeur of the objects which it presents to view, is most apt to strike the eye of an observer. Nature seems here to have carried on her operations upon a larger scale and with a bolder hand, and to have distinguished the features of this country by a peculiar magnificence. The mountains of America are much superior in height to those in the other divisions of the globe. Even the plain of Quito, which may be considered as the base of the Andes, is elevated farther above the sea than the top of the Pyrenees.” The most elevated point of the Andes, according to Don Ulloa,

Ulloa, is twenty thousand, two hundred, and eighty feet, which is, at least, seven thousand, one hundred, and two feet above the Peak of Teneriffe, which is the highest known mountain in the ancient continent.

From the lofty and extensive mountains of America descend rivers with which the streams of Europe, of Asia, or of Africa, are not to be compared, either for length of course, or for the vast volumes of water which they pour into the oceans. The Danube, the Indus, the Ganges, or the Nile, in the Ancient Hemisphere, are not of equal magnitude with the St. Laurence, the Missouri, or the Mississippi, in North-America; or with the Maragnon, the Oronoko, or the Plata, in South-America. The rivers in the latter of these American continents are like vast arms of the sea.

“The lakes of the New-World are no less conspicuous for grandeur than its mountains and rivers. There is nothing in other parts of the globe which resembles the prodigious chain of lakes in North-America. They may be properly termed inland seas of fresh water; and even those of the second or third class of magnitude, are of larger circuit (the Caspian sea excepted) than the greatest lake of the ancient continent.”

The luxuriance of the vegetable creation in the New-World is extremely great. In the southern provinces, where the moisture of the climate is aided by the warmth of the sun, the woods are almost impervious, and the surface of the ground is hid from the eye, under a thick covering of shrubs, of herbs, and weeds. In the northern provinces, although the forests are not encum-
bered

bered with the same wild luxuriance of vegetation, the trees of various species are generally more lofty, and often much larger, than in any other parts of the world.

One of the most remarkable circumstances, or features, of the New-World, is the general predominance of cold, throughout the whole extent of this great continent. Though we cannot, in any country, determine the precise degree of heat merely by the distance of the equator, because the elevation above the sea, the nature of the soil, &c. all affect the climate; yet, in the Ancient Continent, the heat is much more in proportion to the vicinity of the equator than in any part of America. Here the rigour of the frigid zone extends over half that which should be temperate by its position. Even in those latitudes where the winter is scarcely felt in the Old-Continent, it reigns with great severity in America, though during a short period. Nor does this cold, prevalent in the New-World, confine itself to the temperate zones; but extends its influence to the torrid zone also, considerably mitigating the excess of its heat.—Along the eastern coast, the climate, though more similar to that of the torrid zone in other parts of the earth, is nevertheless considerably milder than in those countries of Asia and Africa which lie in the same latitude. From the southern tropic to the extremity of the American continent, the cold is said to be much greater than in parallel northern latitudes even of America itself.

For this so remarkable difference between the climate of the New-Continent and the Old, various causes have been assigned by different authors.

authors. The following is the opinion of the celebrated Dr. Robertson on this subject. "Though the utmost extent of America towards the north be not yet discovered, we know that it advances nearer to the pole than either Europe or Asia. The latter have large seas to the north, which are open during part of the year, and even when covered with ice, the wind that blows over them is less intensely cold than that which blows over land in the same latitudes. But, in America, the land stretches from the river St. Laurence towards the pole, and spreads out immensely to the west. A chain of enormous mountains, covered with snow and ice, runs through all this dreary region. The wind passing over such an extent of high and frozen land, becomes so impregnated with cold, that it acquires a piercing keenness, which it retains in its progress through warmer climates; and is not entirely mitigated until it reach the gulph of Mexico. Over all the continent of North-America, a northwesterly wind and excessive cold are synonymous terms. Even in the most sultry weather, the moment that the wind veers to that quarter, its penetrating influence is felt in a transition from heat to cold no less violent than sudden. To this powerful cause we may ascribe the extraordinary dominion of cold, and its violent inroads into the southern provinces in that part of the globe.

"Other causes, no less remarkable, diminish the active power of heat in those parts of the American continent which lie between the tropics. In all that portion of the globe, the wind blows in an invariable direction from east to west. As this wind holds its course across the ancient

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continent,

continent, it arrives at the countries which stretch along the western shore of Africa, inflamed with all the fiery particles which it hath collected from the sultry plains of Asia, and the burning sands in the African deserts. The coast of Africa is, accordingly, the region of the earth which feels the most fervent heat, and is exposed to the unmitigated ardour of the torrid zone. But this same wind, which brings such an accession of warmth to the countries lying between the river of Senegal and Cafraria, traverses the Atlantic Ocean, before it reaches the American shore. It is cooled in its passage over this vast body of water ; and is felt as a refreshing gale along the coasts of Brasil and Guiana, rendering these countries, though among the warmest in America, temperate, when compared with those which lie opposite to them in Africa. As this wind advances in its course across America, it meets with immense plains, covered with impenetrable forests ; or occupied by large rivers, marshes, and stagnating waters, where it can recover no considerable degree of heat. At length it arrives at the Andes, which run from north to south through the whole continent. In passing over their elevated and frozen summits, it is so thoroughly cooled, that the greater part of the countries beyond them hardly feel the ardour to which they seem exposed by their situation. In the other provinces of America, from Terra-Firma westward to the Mexican empire, the heat of the climate is tempered, in some places, by the elevation of the land above the sea ; in others, by their extraordinary humidity ; and in all, by the enormous mountains scattered over this tract. The
islands

islands of America in the Torrid Zone are either small or mountainous, and are fanned alternately by refreshing sea and land breezes.

“The causes of the extraordinary cold towards the southern limits of America, and in the seas beyond it, cannot be ascertained in a manner equally satisfying. It was long supposed, that a vast continent, distinguished by the name of *Terra Australis Incognita*, lay between the southern extremity of America and the Antarctic pole. The same principles which account for the extraordinary degree of cold in the northern regions of America, were employed in order to explain that which is felt at Cape-Horn and the adjacent countries. The immense extent of the southern continent, and the large rivers, which it poured into the ocean, were mentioned and admitted by philosophers as causes sufficient to occasion the unusual sensation of cold, and the still more uncommon appearances of frozen seas in that region of the globe. But the imaginary continent to which such influences was ascribed having been searched for in vain, and the space which it was supposed to occupy having been found to be an open sea; new conjectures must be formed with respect to the causes of a temperature of climate, so extremely different from that which we experience in countries removed at the same distance from the opposite pole.

“The most obvious and probable cause of the superior degree of cold towards the southern extremity of America, seems to be the form of the continent there. Its breadth gradually decreases as it stretches from St. Antonia southwards, and from the bay of St. Julian to the straits of Magellan

lan its dimensions are much contracted. On the east and west sides, it is washed by the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. From its southern point, it is probable that a great extent of sea without any considerable tract of land, reaches to the Antarctic pole. In which ever of these directions the wind blows, it is cooled before it approaches the Magellanic regions, by passing over a vast body of water; nor is the land there of such extent, that it can recover any considerable degree of heat in its progress over it. These circumstances concur in rendering the temperature of the air in this district of America, more similar to that of an insular, than to that of a continental climate; and hinder it from acquiring the same degree of summer-heat, with places in Europe and Asia, in a corresponding northern latitude. The north wind is the only one that reaches this part of America, after blowing over a great continent. But, from an attentive survey of its position, this will be found to have a tendency rather to diminish than augment the degree of heat. The southern extremity of America is properly the termination of the immense ridge of the Andes, which stretches nearly in a direct line from north to south, through the whole extent of the continent. The most sultry regions in South America, Guiana, Brasil, Paraguay, and Tucuman, lie many degrees to the east of the Magellanic regions. The level country of Peru, which enjoys the tropical heats, is situated considerably to the west of them. The north wind, then, though it blows over land, does not bring to the southern extremity of America an increase of heat collected in its passage over torrid regions; but

but before it arrives there, it must have swept along the summits of the Andes, and comes impregnated with the cold of that frozen region."

Another peculiarity in the climate of America is its excessive moisture in general. In some places, indeed, on the western coast, rain is not known; but, in all other parts, the moistness of the climate is as remarkable as the cold.—The forests wherewith it is every where covered, no doubt, partly, occasion the moisture of its climate; but the most prevalent and obvious cause is the vast quantity of water in the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans with which America is environed on all sides. Hence, those places where the continent is narrowest are deluged with almost perpetual rains, accompanied with violent thunder and lightning, by which some of them, particularly Porto-Bello, are rendered in a manner uninhabitable.

From the coldness and the moisture of America, an extreme malignity of climate has been inferred, and asserted by M. de Pauw, in his *Recherches Philosophiques sur les Americains*. Hence, according to the hypothesis of this author, the smallness and irregularity of the nobler animals, and the size and enormous multiplication of reptiles and insects.

But the supposed smallness and less ferocity of the American animals, the Abbe Clavigero observes, instead of the malignity, demonstrates the mildness and bounty of the climate, if we give credit to Buffon, at whose fountain M. de Pauw has drank, and of whose testimony he has availed himself against Don Pernetty. Buffon who, in many places of his Natural History produces

duces the smallness of the American animals as a certain argument of the malignity of the climate of America ; in treating afterwards of savage animals, in Tom. II. speaks thus : “ As all things, even the most free creatures, are subject to natural laws, and animals as well as men are subjected to the influence of climate and soil, it appears that the same causes which have civilized and polished the human species in our climates, may have likewise, produced similar effects upon other species. The wolf, which is, perhaps, the fiercest of all the quadrupeds of the temperate zone, is, however, incomparably less terrible than the tyger, the lion, and the panther of the torrid zone ; and the white bear and hyena of the frigid zone. In America, where the air and the earth are more mild than those of Africa, the tyger, the lion, and the panther, are not terrible but in the name. They have degenerated, if fierceness, joined to cruelty, made their nature ; or, to speak more properly, they have only suffered the influence of the climate : under a milder sky their nature also has become more mild. From climes which are immoderate in their temperature are obtained drugs, perfumes, poisons, and all those plants whose qualities are strong. The temperate earth, on the contrary, produces only things which are temperate ; the mildest herbs, the most wholesome pulse, the sweetest fruits, the most quiet animals, and the most humane men, are the natives of this happy clime. As the earth makes the plants, the earth and plants make animals ; the earth, the plants, and the animals make man. The physical qualities of man, and the animals which feed on other animals, depend, though
more

more remotely, on the same causes which influence their dispositions and customs. This is the greatest proof and demonstration, that in temperate climes every thing becomes temperate, and that in intemperate climes every thing is excessive; and that size and form, which appear fixed and determinate qualities, depend notwithstanding, like the relative qualities on the influence of climate. The size of our quadrupeds cannot be compared with that of the elephant, the rhinoceros, or sea-horse. The largest of our birds are but small if compared with the ostrich, the condore, and *casoare*." So far M. Buffon, whose text we have copied, because it is contrary to what M. de Pauw writes against the climate of America, and to Buffon himself, in many other places.

"If the large and fierce animals, says Clavigero, are natives of intemperate climes, and small and tranquil animals of temperate climes, as M. Buffon has here established; if mildness of climate influences the disposition and customs of animals, M. de Pauw does not well deduce the malignity of the climate of America from the smaller size and less fierceness of its animals; he ought rather to have deduced the gentleness and sweetness of its climate from this antecedent. If, on the contrary, the smaller size and less fierceness of the American animals, with respect to those of the old continent, are a proof of their degeneracy, arising from the malignity of the clime, as M. de Pauw would have it, we ought in like manner to argue the malignity of the climate of Europe from the smaller size and less fierceness of its animals, compared, with those of Africa. If a philosopher

pher of the country of Guinea should undertake a work in imitation of M. de Pauw, with this title, *Recherches Philosophiques sur les Européens*, he might avail himself of the same argument which M. de Pauw uses, to demonstrate the malignity of the climate of Europe, and the advantages of that of Africa. The climate of Europe, he would say, is very unfavourable to the production of quadrupeds, which are found incomparably smaller, and more cowardly than ours. What are the horse and the ox, the largest of its animals, compared with our elephants, our rhinoceroses, our sea-horses, and our camels? What are its lizards, either in size or intrepidity, compared with our crocodiles? Its wolves, its bears, the most dreadful of its wild beasts, when beside our lions and tygers. Its eagles, its vultures, and cranes, if compared with our ostriches, appear only like hens."

As to the enormous size and prodigious multiplication of the insects and other little noxious animals. "The surface of the earth (says M. de Pauw), infected by putrefaction, was over-run with lizards, serpents, reptiles, and insects monstrous for size, and the activity of their poison, which they drew from the copious juices of this uncultivated soil, that was corrupted and abandoned to itself, where the nutritive juice became sharp, like the milk in the breast of animals which do not exercise the virtue of propagation. Caterpillars, crabs, butterflies, beetles, spiders, frogs, and toads, were, for the most part of an enormous corpulence in their species, and multiplied beyond what can be imagined. Panama is infested with serpents, Carthagena with clouds of enormous

mous bats, Porto-Bello with toads, Surinam with *kakerlacas*, or *cucarachas*. Guadaloupe, and the other colonies of the islands, with beetles, Quito with niguas, or chegoes, and Lima with lice and bugs. The ancient kings of Mexico, and the emperors of Peru, found no other means of ridding their subjects of those insects which fed upon them, than the imposition of an annual tribute of a certain quantity of lice. Ferdinand Cortes found bags full of them in the palace of Montezuma." But this argument, exaggerated as it is, proves nothing against the climate of America, in general, much less against that of Mexico. There being some lands in America, in which, on account of their heat, their humidity or want of inhabitants, large insects are found, and excessively multiplied, will prove at most, that in some places the surface of the earth is infected, as he says, with putrefaction; but not that the soil of Mexico, or that of all America, is stinking, uncultivated, vitiated, and abandoned to itself. If such a deduction were just, M. de Pauw might also say, that the soil of the Old-Continent is barren, and fetid; as in many countries of it there are prodigious multitudes of monstrous insects, noxious reptiles, and vile animals, as in the Philippine-Isles, in many of those of the Indian-Archipelago, in several countries of the south of Asia, in many of Africa, and even in some of Europe. The Philippine-Isles are infested with enormous ants, and monstrous butterflies; Japan with scorpions; south of Asia and Africa with serpents; Egypt with asps; Guinea and Ethiopia with armies of ants; Holland with field-rats; Ukrania with toads, as M. de Pauw

himself affirms. In Italy, the Campagna di Roma (although peopled for so many ages), is infested with vipers; Calabria with tarantulas; the shores of the Adriatic sea with clouds of gnats; and even in France, the population of which is so great, and so ancient, whose lands are so well cultivated, and whose climate is so celebrated by the French, there appeared, a few years ago, according to M. Buffon, a new species of field-mice, larger than the common kind, called by him *Surmulots*, which have multiplied exceedingly, to the great damage of the fields. M. Bazin, in his Compendium of the History of insects, numbers 77 species of bugs, which are all found in Paris, and in its neighbourhood. That large capital, as Mr. Bomare says, swarms with those disgusting insects. It is true that there are places in America, where the multitude of insects, and filthy vermin, make life irksome; but we do not know that they have arrived to such excess of multiplication as to depopulate any place, at least there cannot be so many examples produced of this cause of depopulation in the New as in the Old continent, which are attested by Theophrastus, Varro, Pliny, and other authors. The frogs depopulated one place in Gaul, and the locusts another in Africa. One of the Cyclades was depopulated by mice; Amiclas, near to Taracina, by serpents; another place near to Ethiopia, by scorpions and poisonous ants; and another by scolopendras; and, not so distant from our own times, the Mauritius was going to have been abandoned, on account of the extraordinary multiplication of rats, as we can remember to have read in a French author.

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With respect to the size of the insects, reptiles, and such animals, M. de Pauw makes use of the testimony of M. Dumont, who, in his *Memoirs on Louisiana*, says, that the frogs are so large there that they weigh 37 French pounds, and that their horrid croaking imitates the bellowing of cows. But, M. de Pauw himself says (in his answer to Don Pernetty, cap. 17), that all those who have written about Louisiana, from Henepin, Le Clerc, and Tonti, to Dumont, have contradicted each other, sometimes on one, and sometimes on another, subject. In fact, neither in the old or the new continent are there frogs of 37 pounds in weight; but there are in Asia, and in Africa, serpents, butterflies, ants, and other animals of such monstrous size, that they exceed all those which have been discovered in the New-World. We know very well, that an American historian says, that a certain gigantic species of serpents is to be found in the woods, which attract men with their breath, and swallow them up; but we know also, that several historians, both ancient and modern, report the same extravagant and incredible thing of the serpents of Asia, and even something more. Megasthenes, cited by Pliny, said, that there were serpents found in Asia, so large, that they swallowed entire stags and bulls. Metrodorus, cited by the same author, affirms, that in Asia there were serpents which, by their breath, attracted birds, however high they were, or quick their flight. Among the moderns, Gemelli, in Vol. V. of his *Giro del Mondo*, when he treats of the animals of the Philippine-Isles, speaks thus: "There are serpents in these islands of immoderate size: there is

is one called *Ibitin*, very long, which suspending itself by the tail from the trunk of a tree, waits till flags, bears, and also men pass by, in order to attract them with its breath, and devour them at once entirely :” from whence it is evident, that this very ancient fable has been common to both continents.

Further, it may be asked, In what country of America could M. de Pauw find ants to equal those of the Philippine-Islands, called *Sulum*, respecting which Hernandez affirms, that they are six fingers broad in length, and one in breadth? Who has ever seen in America butterflies so large as those of Bourbon, Ternate, the Philippine-isles, and all the Indian-Archipelago? The largest bat of America (native to hot shady countries), which is that called by Buffon *Vampiro*, is, according to him, of the size of a pigeon. *La Rougeite*, one of the species of Asia, is as large as a raven; and the *Roufette*, another species of Asia, is as big as a large hen. Its wings, when extended, measure from tip to tip three Parisian feet, and, according to Gemelli, who measured it in the Philippine-isles, six palms. M. Buffon acknowledges the excess in size of the Asiatic bat over the American species, but denies it as to number. Gemelli says, that those of the island of Luzon were so numerous that they darkened the air, and that the noise which they made with their teeth, in eating the fruits of the woods, was heard at the distance of two miles. M. de Pauw says, in talking of serpents, “it cannot be affirmed that the new world has shown any serpents larger than those which Mr. Adanson saw in the deserts of Africa.” The greatest serpent
found

found in Mexico, after a diligent search made by Hernandez, was 18 feet long: but this is not to be compared with that of the Moluccas, which Bomare says is 33 feet in length; nor with the *Anacandaja*, of Ceylon, which the same author says is more than 33 feet long; nor with others of Asia and Africa, mentioned by the same author. Lastly, the argument drawn from the multitude and size of the American insects is fully as weighty as the argument drawn from the smallness and scarcity of quadrupeds, and both detect the same ignorance, or rather the same voluntary and studied forgetfulness, of the things of the Old continent.

With respect to what M. de Pauw has said of the tribute of lice, in Mexico, in that, as well as in many other things, he discovers his ridiculous credulity. It is true that Cortes found bags of lice in the magazines of the palace of king Axajacatl. It is also true, that Montezuma imposed such a tribute, not on all his subjects, however, but only on those who were beggars; not on account of the extraordinary multitude of those insects, as M. de Pauw affirms, but because Montezuma, who could not suffer idleness in his subjects, resolved that that miserable set of people, who could not labour, should at least be occupied in lousing themselves. This was the true reason of such an extraordinary tribute, as Torquemada, Betancourt, and other early historians relate; and nobody ever before thought of that which M. de Pauw affirms, merely because it suited his preposterous system. Those disgusting insects possibly abound as much in the hair and clothes of American beggars, as of any poor

and uncleanly low people in the world: but there is not a doubt, that if any sovereign of Europe was to exact such a tribute from the poor in his dominions, not only bags, but great vessels might be filled with them.



CHAP. II.

General Description of the Natives—their peculiarities of Ornament and Dress—remarkable Insensibility to Pain, and to the Inclemencies of Weather—terrible Trials undergone by their Chiefs.

IT is now time to turn our attention to the *Aborigines*, or natives, of the New-World. At the time when this great continent was made more generally known to the Europeans by the discoveries of Christopher Columbus, and of the illustrious navigators who imbibed the spirit and enthusiasm of that great man, it was found inhabited by various tribes and nations of men, who differed, in many respects, from most of the people in the three other quarters of the world. In their physical history, however, the greatest peculiarity in the Americans is their complexion, and the little difference which is observed, in this respect, throughout the whole extent of the American continent. In Europe, and in Asia, the people who inhabit the northern countries are of a fairer complexion than those who dwell more to the southward. In the torrid zone, both in Africa and in Asia, the natives are entirely

tirely black, or the next thing to it. This, however, must be understood with some limitation. The people of Lapland, who inhabit the most northerly part of Europe, are by no means so fair as the inhabitants of Britain; nor are the Tartars so fair as the inhabitants of Europe, who lie under the same parallels of latitude. Nevertheless, a Laplander is fair, when compared with an Abyssinian, and a Tartar if compared with a native of the Molucca islands—In America, this distinction of colour was not so distinctly, and so prominently, marked. In the torrid zone there were no negroes, and in the temperate and frigid zones there were no white people. Most of them were of a kind of red copper-colour, which Mr. Forster observed, in the Pesserais, of Tierra del Fuego, to have something of a gloss resembling that metal. It does not appear, however, that this matter has, hitherto, been inquired into with sufficient accuracy. The inhabitants of the inland parts of South-America, where that continent is widest, and, consequently, the influence of the sun most powerful, have never been accurately compared with those of Canada, or more northerly parts, at least as far we know. Yet this ought to have been done, and that in many instances too before it could be asserted so positively, as most authors do, that *there is not the least difference of complexion among the natives of America*. Indeed, so many systems have been formed concerning these singular people, that it is very difficult to obtain a true knowledge of the most simple facts, even from the best and most unprejudiced writers.—If we may believe the Abbe Raynal, the Californians are swarthier than

than the Mexicans; and so positive is he in this opinion, that he gives a reason for it. "This difference of colour," says he, "proves, that the civilized life of society subverts, or totally changes, the order and laws of nature, since we find, under the temperate zone, a savage people that are blacker than the civilized nations of the torrid zone.—On the other hand, Dr. Robertson classes all the inhabitants of Spanish America together with regard to colour, whether they are civilized or uncivilized; and when he speaks of California, takes no notice of any peculiarity to their colour more than others.—The general appearance of the indigenous Americans in various districts, is thus described by the chevalier Pinto: "They are all of a copper colour, with some diversity of shade, not in proportion to their distance from the Equator, but according to the degree of elevation of the territory in which they reside. Those who live in a high country are fairer than those in the marshy low lands on the coast. Their face is round; farther removed, perhaps, than that of any people from an oval shape. Their fore-head is small; the extremity of their ears far from the face; their lips thick; their nose flat; their eyes black, or of a chestnut colour, small but capable of discerning objects at a great distance. Their hair is always thick and sleek, and without any tendency of curl. At the first aspect, a South-American appears to be mild and innocent; but, on a more attentive view, one discovers in his countenance something wild, distrustful, and sullen."

The following account of the native Americans is given by Don Antonio Ulloa, in his late work
entitled

entitled *Memoires philosophiques, historiques, et physiques, concernant la decouverte de l'Amerique.*

The American Indians are naturally of a colour bordering upon red. Their frequent exposure to the sun and wind changes it to their ordinary dusky hue. The temperature of the air appears to have little or no influence in this respect. There is no perceptible difference in complexion between the inhabitants of the high and those of the low parts of Peru; yet the climates are of an extreme difference. Nay, the Indians who live as far as 40 degrees and upwards south or north of the equator, are not to be distinguished, in point of colour, from those immediately under it.

There is, also a general conformation of features and person, which, more or less, characterizeth them all. Their chief distinctions, in these respects, are a small forehead, partly covered with hair to the eye-brows, little eyes, the nose thin, pointed, and bent towards the upper lip; a broad face, large ears, black, thick, and lank hair; the legs well formed, the feet small, the body thick and muscular; little or no beard on the face, and that little never extending beyond a small part of the chin and upper lip. It may easily be supposed that this general description cannot apply, in all its parts, to every individual; but all of them partake so much of it, that they may be easily distinguished even from the mulattoes, who come nearest to them in point of colour.

The resemblance among all the American tribes is no less remarkable in respect to their genius, character, manners, and particular customs.

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The most distant tribes are, in these respects, as similar as though they formed but one nation.

All the Indian nations have a peculiar pleasure in painting their bodies of a red colour, with a certain species of earth. The mine of Guanacavelica was formerly of no other use than to supply them with this material for dying their bodies: and the cinnabar extracted from it was applied entirely to this purpose. The tribes in Louisiana and in Canada have the same passion; hence minium is the commodity most in demand there.

It may, perhaps, seem singular, that these nations, whose natural colour is red, should affect the same colour as an artificial ornament. But, it may be observed, they do nothing in this respect but what corresponds to the practice of Europeans, who also study to heighten and display to advantage the natural red and white of their complexions. The Indians of Peru have now, indeed, abandoned the custom of painting their bodies: but it was common among them before they were conquered by the Spaniards; and it still remains the custom of all those tribes who have preserved their liberty. The northern nations of America, besides the red colour which is predominant, employ also black, white, blue, and green, in painting their bodies.

The adjustment of these colours is a matter of as great consideration with the Indians of Louisiana and the vast regions extending to the north as the ornaments of dress among the most polished nations. The business itself they call *Maetaber*, and they do not fail to apply all their talents and assiduity to accomplish it in the most finished manner. No lady of the greatest fashion ever consulted

consulted her mirror with more anxiety, than the Indians do while painting their bodies. The colours are applied with the utmost accuracy and address. Upon the eye-lids, precisely at the root of the eye-lashes, they draw two lines, as fine as the smallest thread; the same upon the lips, the openings of the nostrils, the eye-brows, and the ears; of which last they even follow all the inflexions and sinuosities. As to the rest of the face, they distribute various figures, in all which the red predominates, and the other colours are assorted so as to throw it out to the best advantage. The neck also receives its proper ornaments; a thick coat of vermilion commonly distinguishes the cheeks. Five or six hours are requisite for accomplishing all this with the nicety which they affect. As their first attempts do not always succeed to their wish, they efface them, and begin a-new upon a better plan. No coquette is more fastidious in her choice of ornament, none more vain when the important adjustment is finished. Their delight and self-satisfaction are then so great, that the mirror is hardly ever laid down. An Indian, *Maſſached* to his mind, is the vainest of all the human species. The other parts of the body are left in their natural state, and, excepting what is called a *cachecul*, they go entirely naked.

Such of them as have made themselves eminent for bravery, or other qualifications, are distinguished by figures painted on their bodies. They introduce the colours by making punctures on their skin, and the extent of surface which this ornament covers is proportioned to the exploits they have performed. Some paint only their arms,

arms, others both their arms and legs; others, again, their thighs, while those who have attained the summit of warlike renown have their bodies painted from the waist upwards. This is the heraldry of the Indians; the devices of which are, probably, more exactly adjusted to the merits of the persons who bear them, than those of more civilized countries.

Besides these ornaments, the warriors also carry plumes of feathers on their heads, their arms, and ancles. These, likewise, are tokens of valour, and none but such as have been thus distinguished may wear them.

The propensity to indolence is equal among all the tribes of Indians, civilized, or savage. The only employment of those who have preserved their independence is hunting and fishing. In some districts, the women exercise a little agriculture, in raising Indian corn, and pompions, of which they form a species of aliment, by bruising them together: they, also, prepare the ordinary beverage in use among them, taking care, at the same time, of the children, of whom the fathers take no charge.

The female Indians of all the conquered regions of South America practise what is called the *urcu* (a word which among them signifies *elevation*). It consists in throwing forward the hair from the crown of the head, upon the brow, and cutting it round from the ears to above the eye; so that the forehead and eye-brows are entirely covered. The same custom takes place in the Northern countries. The female inhabitants of both regions tie the rest of their hair behind, so exactly in the same fashion, that it might be supposed

supposed the effect of mutual imitation. This, however, being impossible, from the vast distance that separates them, is thought to countenance the supposition of the whole of America being originally planted with one race of people.

This custom does not take place among the males. Those of the higher parts of Peru wear long and flowing hair, which they reckon a great ornament. In the lower parts of the same country they cut it short, on account of the heat of the climate; a circumstance in which they imitate the Spaniards. The inhabitants of Louisiana pluck out their hair by the root, from the crown of the head forwards, in order to obtain a large forehead, otherwise denied them by nature. The rest of their hair they cut as short as possible, to prevent their enemies from seizing them by it in battle, and also to prevent them from easily getting their scalp, should they fall into their hands as prisoners.

According to Don Ulloa, the whole race of the American Indians is distinguished by an uncommon thickness of skin, and by a hardness of their fibres; circumstances which, in the opinion of this learned Spanish writer, contribute to that insensibility to bodily pain, for which these singular people are so remarkable. Our author adduces an instance, in support of this insensibility, in the Americans, in the case of an Indian, who was under the necessity of submitting to be cut for the stone. This operation, it is well known, seldom lasts above four, or five minutes. Unfavourable circumstances, in this case prolonged it to the uncommon period of 27 minutes. Yet, all this time, the patient

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gave no tokens of the extreme pain, commonly attending this operation : he complained only as a person does who feels some slight uneasiness. At last, the stone was extracted. Two days after, he expressed a desire for food, and on the eighth day from the operation he quitted his bed, free from pain, although the wound was not yet thoroughly closed. The same want of sensibility, he says, is observed in case of fractures, wounds, and other accidents, of a similar nature. In all these cases, their cure is easily effected, and they seem to suffer less present pain than any other race of men. The skulls which have been taken up in their ancient burying-grounds, are of a greater thickness than that compages of bones is commonly found to be ; being from six to seven lines from the outer to the inner superficies.

It is natural to infer from hence, says Ulloa, that their comparative insensibility to pain is owing to a coarser and stronger organization, than that of other nations. The ease with which they endure the severities of climate is, he thinks another proof of this. The inhabitants of the higher parts of Peru live amidst perpetual frost and snow. Although their clothing is very slight, they support this inclement temperature, without the least inconvenience. Habit, it is to be confessed, may contribute a good deal to this, but much also is to be ascribed to the compact texture of their skin, which defends them from the impression of cold through their pores. We must confess, however, notwithstanding the assertions and conjectures of an author so respectable as Don Ulloa, that we are not very confident, that either the skins, or the skulls of the
Americans

Americans are thicker than the skins and skulls of many other nations of mankind. But we do not wish, in this place, to expatiate on this subject, which can only be reduced to a certainty by the investigations of the anatomist, or naturalist.

The Northern Indians resemble them in this respect. The utmost rigours of the winter season do not prevent them from following the chase almost naked. It is true, they wear a kind of woollen cloak, or sometimes the skin of a wild beast, upon their shoulders; but, besides that it covers only a small part of their body, it would appear that they use it rather for ornament than warmth. In fact, they wear it indiscriminately, in the severities of winter, and in the sultriest heats of summer, when neither Europeans nor Negroes can suffer any but the slightest clothing. They even frequently throw aside this cloak when they go a-hunting, that it may not embarrass them, in traversing their forests, where, they say, the thorns and undergrowth would take hold of it; while, on the contrary, they slide smoothly over the surface of their naked bodies. At all times, they go with their heads uncovered, without suffering the least inconvenience, either from the cold, or from those *coups de soleil*, which in Louisiana are so often fatal to the inhabitants of other climates.

The Indians of South-America distinguish themselves by modern dresses, in which they affect various tastes. Those of the high country, and of the valleys in Peru, dress partly in the Spanish fashion. Instead of hats they wear bonnets of coarse double cloth, the weight of
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which neither seems to incommode them when they go to warmer climates, nor does the accidental want of them seem to be felt in situations where the most piercing cold reigns. Their legs and feet are always bare, if we except a sort of sandals, made of the skins of oxen. The inhabitants of South-America, compared with those of North-America, are described as generally more feeble in their frame ; less vigorous in the efforts of their mind ; of gentler dispositions, more addicted to pleasure, and sunk in indolence. — This, however, is not universally the case. Many of their nations are as intrepid and enterprising as any others on the whole continent. Among the tribes on the banks of the Oronoko, if a warrior aspires to the post of captain, his probation begins with a long fast, more rigid than any ever observed by the most abstemious hermit. At the close of this the chiefs assemble ; and each gives him three lathes with a large whip, applied so vigorously, that his body is almost flayed. If he betrays the least symptom of impatience, or even of sensibility, he is disgraced, for ever, and is rejected, as unworthy of the honour. After some interval, his constancy is proved by a more excruciating trial. He is laid in his hammock with his hands bound fast ; and an innumerable multitude of venomous ants, whose bite occasions a violent pain and inflammation, are thrown upon him. The judges of his merit stand around the hammock ; and whilst these cruel insects fasten upon the most sensible parts of his body, a sigh, a groan, or an involuntary motion, expressive of what he suffers, would exclude him from the dignity of
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which he is ambitious. Even after this evidence, his fortitude is not deemed to be sufficiently ascertained, till he has stood another test, more severe if possible than the former. He is again suspended in his hammock, and covered with the leaves of the palmetto. A fire of stinking herbs is kindled underneath, so as he may feel its heat, and be involved in smoke. Though scorched and almost suffocated, he must continue to endure this with the same patient insensibility. Many perish in this essay of their firmness and courage; but such as go through it with applause, receive the ensigns of their new dignity with much solemnity, and are ever after regarded as leaders of approved resolution, whose behaviour, in the most trying situations, will do honour to their country. In North America, the previous trial of a warrior is neither so formal, nor so severe; though, even there, before a youth is permitted to bear arms, his patience and fortitude are proved by blows, by fire, and by insults, more intolerable to a haughty spirit than either.

CHAP. III.

Customs and Manners of the Aborigines of North-America, more particularly—their Pensiveness and Taciturnity—Form of Government—Public Assemblies—Wampums, or Belts.

OF the manners and customs of the North-Americans more particularly, the following is the most consistent account that can be collected from the best informed and most impartial writers.

When the Europeans first arrived in America, they found the Indians quite naked, except those parts which even the most uncultivated people usually conceal. Since that time, however, they generally use a coarse blanket, which they buy of the neighbouring planters.

Their huts, or cabins, are made of stakes of wood driven into the ground, and covered with branches of trees, or reeds. They lie on the floor, either on mats, or the skins of wild beasts. Their dishes are of timber; but their spoons are made of the skulls of wild oxen, and their knives of flint. A kettle and a large plate constitute almost the whole utensils of the family.—Their diet consists chiefly in what they procure by hunting; and sagamite, or pottage, is likewise one of their most common kinds of food. The most honourable furniture amongst them is a collection of the scalps of their enemies; with these they ornament their huts, which are esteemed in proportion to the number of these sort of spoils.

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The character of the Indians is altogether founded upon their circumstances and way of life. A people who are constantly employed in procuring the means of a precarious subsistence, who live by hunting the wild animals, and who are generally engaged in war with their neighbours, cannot be supposed to enjoy much gaiety of temper, or a high flow of spirits. The Indians, therefore, are in general grave, even to sadness: they have nothing of that giddy vivacity peculiar to some nations of Europe, and they despise it. Their behaviour to those about them is regular, modest, and respectful. Ignorant of the arts of amusement, of which that of saying trifles agreeably is one of the most considerable, they seldom speak but when they have something important to observe; and all their actions, words, and even looks, are attended with some meaning. This is extremely natural to men who are almost continually engaged in pursuits, which to them are of the highest importance. Their subsistence depends entirely on what they procure with their hands; and, their lives, their honour, and every thing dear to them, may be lost by the smallest inattention to the designs of their enemies. As they have no particular object to attach them to one place rather than another, they go wherever they expect to find the necessities of life in greatest abundance. Cities, which are the effects of agriculture and arts, they have none. The different tribes, or nations, are, for the same reason, extremely small, when compared with civilized societies, in which industry, arts, agriculture, and commerce, have united a vast number of individuals, whom a complicated luxury

ury renders useful to one another. These small tribes live at an immense distance; they are separated by a desert frontier, and hid in the bosom of impenetrable and almost boundless forests.

There is established in each society a certain species of government, which prevails over the whole continent of America, with exceeding little variation; because over the whole of this continent the manners and way of life are nearly similar and uniform. Without arts, riches, or luxury, the great instruments of subjection in polished societies, an American has no method by which he can render himself considerable among his companions, but by superiority in personal qualities of body or mind. But, as Nature has not been very lavish in her personal distinctions, where all enjoy the same education, all are pretty much upon an equality, and will desire to remain so. Liberty, therefore, is the prevailing passion of the Americans: and their government, under the influence of this sentiment is, perhaps, better secured than by the wisest political regulations. They are very far, however, from despising all sorts of authority: they are attentive to the voice of wisdom, which experience has conferred on the aged, and they enlist under the banners of the chief in whose valour and military address they have learned to repose a just and merited confidence. In every society, therefore, there is to be considered the power of the chiefs and of the elders. Among those tribes which are most engaged in war, the power of the chief is, naturally, predominant; because the idea of having a military leader was the first source of his superiority, and the conditional exigencies

gencies of the state requiring such a leader, will continue to support, and even to enhance it. His power, however, is rather persuasive than coercive; he is revered as a father, rather than feared as a monarch. He has no guards, no prisons, no officers of justice, and one act of ill-judged violence would pull him from his humble throne. The elders in the other form of government which may be considered as a *mild* and *nominal* aristocracy, have no more power. In most countries, therefore, age alone is sufficient for acquiring respect, influence, and authority. It is age which teaches experience, and experience is the only source of knowledge among a savage people. Among those persons business is conducted with the utmost simplicity, and which may recal, to those who are acquainted with antiquity, a picture of the most early ages. The heads of families meet together in a house or cabin appointed for the purpose. Here the business is discussed and here those of the nation, distinguished for their eloquence or wisdom, have an opportunity of displaying those talents. Their orators, like those of Homer, express themselves in a bold figurative style, stronger than refined, or rather softened, nations can well bear, and with gestures equally violent, but often extremely natural and expressive. When the business is over, and they happen to be well provided with food, they appoint a feast upon the occasion, of which almost the whole nation partakes. The feast is accompanied with a song, in which the real or fabulous exploits of their forefathers are celebrated. They have dances too, though like those of the Greeks and Romans, they are chiefly
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of the military kind ; and their music and dancing accompany every feast.

To assist their memory, they have belts of small shells, or beads, of different colours, each representing a particular object, which is marked by their colour and arrangement. At the conclusion of every subject on which they discourse, when they treat with a foreign state, they deliver one of those belts ; for if this ceremony should be omitted, all that they have said passes for nothing. These belts are carefully deposited in each town, as the public records of the nation ; and to them they occasionally have recourse, when any public contest happens with a neighbouring tribe. Of late, as the materials of which those belts are made, have become scarce, they often give some skin in place of the wampum (the name of the beads,) and receive, in return presents of a more valuable kind from the commissioners ; for they never consider a treaty as of any weight, unless every article in it be ratified by such a gratification.

It often happens, that those different tribes or nations, scattered as they are at an immense distance from one another, meet in their excursions after prey. If there subsists no animosity between them, which seldom is the case, they behave in the most friendly and courteous manner : but if they happen to be in a state of war, or if there has been no previous intercourse between them, all who are not friends are deemed enemies, and they fight with the most savage fury.

C H A P. IV.

Customs, &c. of the Natives continued.—Their Wars—Ceremonies at setting out—Ensigns—Military Habits—Quickness of their senses—Vigilance and Circumspection—Manner of Fighting—Treatment of Prisoners—Tortures—Constancy of the Sufferers—Surprising Contrast in the American Character.

IF we except hunting and fishing, war is the principal employment of the Indian men: almost every other concern, but in particular the little agriculture which they enjoy, is consigned to the women. The most common motive of the Americans for entering into war, when it does not arise from an accidental rencounter, or interference, is either to revenge themselves for the death of some lost friends, or to acquire prisoners, who may assist them in their hunting, and whom they adopt into their society. These wars are either undertaken by some private adventurers, or at the instance of the whole community. In the latter case all the young men who are disposed to go out to battle (for no one is compelled contrary to his inclination,) give a bit of wood to the chief, as a token of their design to accompany him; for every thing among these people is transacted with a great deal of ceremony and with many forms. The chief, who is to conduct them, fasts several days, during which time he converses with no one, and is particularly careful to observe his dreams; which the presumption natural to savages generally

rally renders as favourable as he could desire. A variety of other superstitions and ceremonies are observed. One of the most hideous is setting the war-kettle on the fire, as an emblem that they are going out to devour their enemies; which, among these nations, it is probable, was formerly the case, since they still continue to express it in clear terms, and use an emblem significant of the ancient usage. Then, they dispatch a porcelain, or large shell, to their allies, inviting them to come along, and drink the blood of their enemies. For with the Americans, as with the Greeks of old,

“ A generous friendship no cold medium knows;

“ But with one love, with one resentment glows.”

They think that those in their alliance must not only adopt their enemies, but that they must also have their resentment wound up to the same pitch with themselves. And, indeed, no people carry their friendships or their resentments so far as they do; and this is what should be expected from their peculiar circumstances: that principle in human nature which is the spring of the social affections, acts with so much the greater force the more it is restrained. The Americans, who live in small societies, who see few objects and few persons, become wonderfully attached to those objects and persons, and cannot be deprived of them without feeling themselves miserable. Their ideas are too confined to enable them to entertain just sentiments of humanity, or universal benevolence. But this very circumstance, while it makes them cruel and savage to an incredible degree, towards those with whom they
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are at war, adds a new force to their particular friendships, and to the common tie which unites the members of the same tribe, or of those different tribes which are in alliance with one another. Without attending to this reflection, some facts we are going to relate would excite our wonder without informing our reason, and we would be bewildered in a number of particulars, seemingly opposite to one another, without being sensible of the general cause from which they proceed.

Having finished all the ceremonies previous to the war, and the day appointed for their setting out on the expedition being arrived, they take leave of their friends, and exchange their clothes, or whatever moveables they have, in token of mutual friendship; after which they proceed from the town, their wives and female relations walking before, and attending them to some distance. The warriors march all dressed in their finest apparel and most showy ornaments, without any order. The chief walks slowly before them, singing the war song, while the rest observe the most profound silence. When they come up to their women, they deliver them all their finery, and putting on their worst clothes, proceed on their expedition.

Every nation has its peculiar ensign or standard, which is generally a representation of some beast, bird, or fish. Those among the Five Nations are the bear, otter, wolf, tortoise, and eagle; and by those names the tribes are usually distinguished. They have the figures of those animals pricked and printed on several parts of

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their bodies ; and when they march through the woods, they commonly at every encampment, cut the representation of their ensign on trees, especially after a successful campaign ; marking at the same time the number of scalps or prisoners they have taken. Thier military dress is extremely singular. They cut off, or pull out, all their hair, except a spot about the breadth of two English crown-pieces, near the top of their heads, and entirely destroy their eye-brows. The lock left upon their heads is divided into several parcels, each of which is stiffened and adorned with wampum, beads, and feathers of various kinds, the whole being twisted into a form much resembling the modern pompoon. Their heads are painted red down to the eye-brows, and sprinkled over with white down. The gristles of their ears are split almost quite round, and distended with wires or splinters, so as to meet and tie together on the nape of the neck. These are, also, hung with ornaments, and generally, bear the representation of some bird, or beast. Their noses are likewise bored and hung with trinkets of beads, and their faces painted, with various colours, so as to make an awful appearance. Their breasts are adorned with a gorget, or medal, of brass, copper, or some other mettall ; and that dreadful weapon the scalping-knife hangs by a string from the neck.

The great qualities of an Indian warrior are vigilance and attention, to give and avoid a surprise ; and, indeed, in these they are superior to all nations, in the world. Accustomed to continual wandering in the forests ; having their perceptions sharpened by keen necessity, and living, in
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every respect, according to nature, their external senses have a degree of acuteness which, at first view, appears incredible. They can trace out their enemies, at an immense distance, by the smoke of their fires, which they smell, and by the tracks of their feet upon the ground, imperceptible to an European eye, but which they can count and distinguish, with the utmost facility. It is said, they can even distinguish the different nations with whom they are acquainted, and can determine the precise time when they passed, where an European could not with all his glasses, distinguish footsteps at all. These circumstances, however, are of less importance, because their savage enemies are equally well acquainted with them. When they go out, therefore, they take care to avoid making use of any thing by which they might run the danger of a discovery. They light no fire to warm themselves, or to prepare their victuals : they lie close to the ground all day, and travel only in the night ; and marching along in files, he that closes the rear, diligently covers with leaves the tracks of his own feet and of theirs who preceded him. When they halt to refresh themselves, scouts are sent out to reconnoitre the country and beat up every place where they suspect an enemy to lie concealed. In this manner they enter unawares the villages of their foes ; and while the flower of the nation are engaged in hunting, massacre all the children, women, and helpless old men, or make prisoners of as many as they can manage, or have strength enough to be useful to their nation. But when the enemy is apprised
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of their design, and coming on in arms against them, they throw themselves flat on the ground among the withered herbs and leaves, which their faces are painted to resemble. They then allow a part to pass unmolested, when, all at once, with a tremendous shout, rising up from their ambush, they pour a storm of musket-bullets on their foes. The party attacked returns the same cry. Every one shelters himself with a tree, and returns the fire of the adverse party, as soon as they raise themselves from the ground to give a second fire. Thus does the battle continue until the one party is so much weakened as to be incapable of farther resistance. But if the force on each side continues nearly equal, the fierce spirits of the savages, inflamed by the loss of their friends, can no longer be restrained. They abandon their distant war, they rush upon one another, with clubs and hatchets in their hands, magnifying their own courage, and insulting their enemies with the bitterest reproaches. A cruel combat ensues, death appears in a thousand hideous forms, which would congeal the blood of civilized nations to behold, but which rouses the fury of savages. They trample, they insult, over the dead bodies, and tear the scalp from the head. The flame rages on till it meets with no resistance; then the prisoners are secured, those unhappy men, whose fate is a thousand times more dreadful than theirs who have died in the field. The conquerors set up a hideous howling, to lament the friends they have lost. They approach, in a melancholy and severe gloom, to their own village; a messenger
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is sent to announce their arrival, and the women, with frightful shrieks, come out to mourn their dead brothers, or their husbands. When they are arrived the chief relates, in a low voice, to the elders, a circumstantial account of every particular of the expedition. The orator proclaims aloud this account to the people; and as he mentions the names of those who have fallen, the shrieks of the women are redoubled. The men, too, join in these cries, according as each is most connected with the deceased by blood, or friendship. The last ceremony is the proclamation of the victory; each individual then forgets his private misfortunes, and joins in the triumph of his nation; all tears are wiped from their eyes, and, by an unaccountable transition, they pass, in a moment, from the bitterness of sorrow to an extravagance of joy. But the treatment of the prisoners, whose fate remains all this time undecided, is what chiefly characterises the savages.

We have already mentioned the strength of their affections, or resentments. United, as they are, in small societies, connected, within themselves, by the firmest ties, their friendly affections, which glow with the most intense warmth within the walls of their own village, seldom extend beyond them. They feel nothing for the enemies of their nation; and their resentment is easily extended, from the individual who has injured them, to all others of the same tribe. The prisoners who have themselves the same feelings, know the intentions of their conquerors, and are prepared for them. The person who
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has taken the captive attends him to the cottage, where, according to the distribution made by the elders, he is to be delivered to supply the loss of a citizen. If those who receive him have their family weakened by war or other accidents, they adopt the captive into the family, of which he becomes a member. But if they have no occasion for him, or their resentment for the loss of their friends be too high to endure the sight of any connected with those who were concerned in it, they sentence him to death. All those who have met with the same severe sentence being collected, the whole nation is assembled at the execution, as for some great solemnity. A scaffold is erected, and the prisoners are tied to the stake, where they commence their death song, and prepare for the ensuing scene of cruelty with the most undaunted courage. Their enemies, on the other side, are determined to put it to the proof, by the most refined and exquisite tortures. They begin at the extremity of his body, and, gradually, approach the more vital parts. One plucks out his nails by the roots, one by one; another takes a finger into his mouth, and tears off the flesh with his teeth; a third thrusts the finger, mangled as it is, into the bowl of a pipe made red-hot, which he smokes like tobacco; then they pound his toes and fingers to pieces between two stones; they cut circles about his joints, and gashes in the fleshy parts of his limbs, which they sear immediately with red-hot irons, cutting, burning, and pinching them alternately; they pull off his flesh, thus mangled and roasted, bit by bit, devouring it with greediness,

ness, and smearing their faces with the blood, in an enthusiasm of horror and fury. When they have thus torn off the flesh, they twist the bare nerves and tendons about an iron, tearing and snapping them, whilst others are employed in pulling and extending his limbs in every way that can increase the torment. This continues, often five or six hours; and sometimes, such is the strength of the savages, days together. Then they frequently unbind him, to give a breathing to their fury, to think what new torments they shall inflict, and to refresh the strength of the sufferer, who, wearied out with such a variety of unheard-of torments, often falls into so profound a sleep, that they are obliged to apply the fire to awake him, and renew his sufferings. He is again fastened to the stake, and again they renew their cruelty; they stick him all over with small matches of wood that easily takes fire but burns slowly: they continually run sharp reeds into every part of his body; they drag out his teeth with pincers, and thrust out his eyes; and, lastly, after having burned his flesh from the bones with slow fires; after having so mangled the body that it is all but one wound; after having mutilated his face in such a manner as to carry nothing human in it; after having peeled the skin from the head, and poured a heap of red-hot coals or boiling water on the naked skull—they once more unbind the wretch; who, blind, and staggering with pain and weakness, assaulted and pelted on every side with clubs and stones, now up, now down, falling into their fires at every step, runs hither and thither,

thither, until one of the chiefs, whether out of compassion, or weary of cruelty, puts an end to his life with a club or dagger. The body is then put into a kettle, and this barbarous employment is succeeded by a feast as barbarous.

The women, forgetting the human as well as the female nature, and transformed into something worse than furies, are said to surpass even the men in this scene of horror ; while the principal persons of the country sit round the stake, smoking and looking on, without the least emotion. What is most extraordinary, the sufferer himself, in the little intervals of his torments, smokes too, appears unconcerned, and converses with his torturers about indifferent matters. Indeed during the whole time of his execution, there seems a contest which shall exceed, they in inflicting the most horrid pains, or he in enduring them with a firmness and constancy almost above human : not a groan, not a sigh, not a distortion of the countenance, escapes him : he possesses his mind entirely in the midst of his torments : he recounts his own exploits : he informs them what cruelties he has inflicted upon their countrymen ; and threatens them with the revenge that will attend his death ; and, though his reproaches exasperate them, to a perfect madness of rage and fury, he continues his insults even of their ignorance of the art of tormenting, pointing out himself more exquisite methods, and more sensible parts of the body to be afflicted. The women have this part of courage as well as the men ; and it is as rare for an Indian to behave otherwise as it would be for an European

European to suffer as an Indian. Such is the wonderful power of an early institution, and a ferocious thirst of glory ! “ I am brave and intrepid (exclaims the savage in the face of his tormentors) ; I do not fear death, nor any kind of tortures ; those who fear them are cowards ; they are less than women ; life is nothing to those that have courage. May my enemies be confounded with despair and rage ! Oh ! that I could devour them, and drink their blood to the last drop.”

But neither the intrepidity, on one side, nor the inflexibility, on the other, are among themselves matter of astonishment : for vengeance, and fortitude, in the midst of torment, are duties which they consider as sacred ; they are the effects of their earliest education, and depend upon principles instilled into them from their infancy. On all other occasions they are humane and compassionate. Nothing can exceed the warmth of their affection towards their friends, who consist of all those who live in the same village, or are in alliance with it : among these all things are common ; and this, though it may in part, and among some of the tribes, arise from their not possessing very distinct notions of separate property, is chiefly to be attributed to the strength of their attachment : because, in every thing else, with their lives as well as their fortunes, they are ready to serve their friends. Their houses, their provision, even their young women, are not enough to oblige a guest. Has any one of these succeeded ill in his hunting ? Has his harvest failed ; or is his house burned ? He feels no other

other effect of his misfortunes, than that it gives him an opportunity to experience the benevolence and regard of his fellow-citizens. On the other hand to the enemies of his country, or to those who have privately offended, the American is implacable. He conceals his sentiments ; he appears reconciled until by some treachery or surprise he has an opportunity of executing an horrible revenge. No length of time is sufficient to allay his resentment ; no distance of place great enough to protect the object ; he crosses the steepest mountains ; he pierces the most impracticable forests, and traverses the most hideous bogs and deserts, for several hundred of miles ; bearing the inclemency of the season, the fatigue of the expedition, the extremes of hunger and thirst, with patience and cheerfulness, in hopes of surprizing his enemy, on whom he exercises the most shocking barbarities, even to the eating of his flesh. To such extremes do the Indians push their friendship or their enmity ; and such indeed, in general, is the character of all strong and uncultivated minds.

CHAP. V.

Customs, &c. of the Natives, continued—Treatment of their dead Friends—Superstitions—Condition of their Women—Ardent Love of Liberty—Crimes and Punishments—Peculiar Manners of different Nations—Longevity.

BUT what we have said respecting the Indians would be a faint picture, did we omit observing the force of their friendship, which principally appears by the treatment of their dead. When any one of the society is cut off, he is lamented by the whole: on this occasion a variety of ceremonies are practised, denoting the most lively sorrow. No business is transacted, however pressing, till all the pious ceremonies due to the dead are performed. The body is washed, anointed, and painted. Then, the women lament the loss with hideous howlings, intermixed with songs which celebrate the great actions of the deceased and his ancestors. The men mourn also, though in a less extravagant manner. The whole village is present at the interment, and the corpse is habited in their most sumptuous ornaments. Close to the body of the defunct are placed his bows and arrows, with whatever he valued most in his life, and a quantity of provision for his subsistence on the journey which he is supposed to take. This solemnity, like every other, is attended with feasting. The funeral being ended, the relations
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of the deceased confine themselves to their huts, for a considerable time, to indulge their grief. After an interval of some weeks, they visit the grave, repeat their sorrow, new-clothe the remains of the body, and act over again all the solemnities of the funeral.

Among the various tokens of their regard for their deceased friends, the most remarkable is the ceremony which they call the *feast of the dead*, or the *feast of souls*. The day for this ceremony is appointed in the council of their chiefs, who give orders for every thing which may enable them to celebrate it with pomp and magnificence, and the neighbouring nations are invited to partake of the entertainment. At this time, all who have died since the preceding feast of the kind are taken out of their graves. Even those who have been interred at the greatest distance from the villages, are diligently sought for, and conducted to this rendezvous of the dead, which exhibits a scene of horror beyond the power of description. When the feast is concluded, the bodies are dressed in the finest skins which can be procured, and after being exposed for some time in this pomp, are again committed to the earth, with great solemnity, which is succeeded by funeral games.

Their taste for war, which forms the chief ingredient in their character, gives a strong bias to their religion. *Aresekoui*, or the god of battle, is revered as the great god of the Indians. Him they invoke before they go into the field; and according as his disposition is more or less favourable to them, they conclude they will be more or less

less successful. Some nations seem to do a kind of homage to the sun, as a symbol, or minister of the beneficence and power of the *Great Spirit* : others pay a similar homage to the moon and planets ; among others, there is a number of traditions, relative to the creation of the world and the history of the gods : traditions which resemble the Grecian fables, but which are still more absurd and inconsistent. But religion is not the prevailing character of the Indians ; and except when they have some immediate occasion for the assistance of their gods, they pay them no sort of worship. Like all rude nations, however, they are strongly addicted to superstition. They believe in the existence of a number of good and bad genii, or spirits, who interfere in the affairs of mortals, and produce all our happiness, or misery. It is from the evil genii, in particular, that our diseases, they imagine, proceed ; and it is to the good genii we are indebted for a cure. The ministers of the genii are the jugglers, who are also the chief physicians among the savages. These jugglers are supposed to be inspired by the good genii, most commonly in their dreams, with the knowledge of future events : they are called in to the assistance of the sick, and are supposed to be informed by the genii whether they will get over the disease, and in what way they must be treated. But these spirits are extremely simple in their system of physic, and, in almost every disease, direct the juggler to the same remedy. The patient is inclosed in a narrow cabin, in the midst of which is a stone red-hot ; on this they throw water, until he is well soaked with the warm vapour and his own

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sweat. Then they hurry him from this bagnio, and plunge him suddenly into the next river. This coarse method, which costs many their lives, often performs very extraordinary cures. "Some of their remedies, however, which are almost entirely derived from the vegetable kingdom, are certainly very powerful and efficacious, in their operations. The principal of these are a species of *stillingia* (perhaps a *croton*;) several species of *iris*, particularly the *versicolor*, and the *verna*; the *bignonia crucigera*, &c."—These are principally employed by the jugglers, and old women; but most of the savages are more or less dextrous in curing wounds, and diseases. But the power of their remedies is generally attributed by the savages to the magical ceremonies with which they are administered.

Although the Indian women generally bear the laborious, part of the domestic economy, their condition, at least among many of the tribes, is far from being so wretched, so slavish, and depressed, as has been represented, by Dr. Robertson, and by many other writers. We do not mean, in this place, to engage in an inquiry concerning the comparative respectability and importance of the female character in the various stages of society and improvement: an inquiry which has employed the pens of some of the most learned and eloquent writers of the present age, and concerning which there are still various, and very opposite, opinions. This, however, we think, we may, confidently and safely, assert, that the condition of the women among many of the American tribes is as respectable and as important as it was among the Germans, in the days

days of Tacitus ; or as it is among any other nations, with whom we are acquainted, in a similar stage of improvement. “ Their business, or employment,” says the ingenious Mr. William Bartram, “ is chiefly in their houses, except at those seasons when their crops of maize, &c. are growing, at which times they generally turn out with their husbands and parents ; but they are by no means compelled to do this, and one seldom sees a third as many females as males at work, in their plantations.” You may depend on my assertion,” (says the same gentleman, who had ample opportunities of studying the customs and manners of the southern Indians, of whom he is speaking, in this place) “ that there are no people, any where, who love their women more than these Indians do, or men of better understanding in distinguishing the merits of the opposite sex ;—or men more faithful in rendering suitable compensation. They are courteous and polite to their women,—gentle, tender and fondling, even to an appearance of effeminacy. An Indian man seldom attempts to use a woman, of any description, with indelicacy, either of action, or of language.

“ In the hunting seasons, that is, in autumn, and in winter, when the men are generally out in the forests, the whole care of the house or family devolves on the women : at these times they are obliged to undergo a great deal of labour and fatigue, such as cutting wood, &c. But this labour is, in part, alleviated by the assistance of the old men, who are past their hunting days, or who are, no longer, capable of serving in
war.”

war." But nothing more clearly shows the importance and respectability of the women among the Indians than this circumstance, that, among some of the tribes, they are permitted to preside in the councils of their country: to this we may add, that several of the Florida nations have, at different times, been governed by the wisdom, and the prudence of female caciques.

Polygamy is practised by some nations, but it is not general. In most, they content themselves with one wife; but a divorce is admitted of in case of adultery. No nation of the Americans is without a regular marriage, in which there are many ceremonies; the principal of which is, the bride's presenting the bridegroom with a plate of their corn. The women, though before incontinent, are remarkable for chastity after marriage.

Liberty, in its full extent, being the darling passion of the Indians, their education is directed in such a manner as to cherish this disposition to the utmost. Hence children are never upon any account chastised with blows, and they are seldom even reprimanded. Reason, they say, will guide their children when they come to the use of it, and before that time their faults cannot be very great: but blows might damp their free and martial spirit, by the habit of a slavish motive to action. When grown up, they experience nothing like command, dependence or subordination; even strong persuasion is industriously withheld by those who have influence among them.—No man is held in great esteem, unless he has increased the strength of his country with
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a captive, or adorned his hut with a scalp of one of his enemies.

Controversies among the Indians are few, and quickly decided. When any criminal matter is so flagrant as to become a national concern, it is brought under the jurisdiction of the great council; but in ordinary cases, the crime is either revenged or compromised by the parties concerned. If a murder be committed, the family which has lost a relation prepares to retaliate on that of the offender. They often kill the murderer; and when this happens, the kindred of the last person slain, look upon themselves to be as much injured, and to have the same right to vengeance, as the other party. In general, however, the offender absents himself; the friends send compliments of condolence to those of the person who has been murdered. The head of the family, at length, appears with a number of presents, the delivery of which he accompanies with a formal speech. The whole ends, as usual, in mutual feasting, in songs, and in dances. If the murder is committed by one of the same family, or cabin, that cabin has the full right of judgment within itself, either to punish the guilty with death, or to pardon him, or to oblige him to give some recompense to the wife or children of the slain. Instances of such a crime, however, very seldom happen; for their attachment to those of the same family is remarkably strong, and is said to produce such friendship as may vie with the most celebrated in fabulous antiquity.

Such, in general, are the manners and customs of the Indian nations; but almost every tribe has something peculiar to itself, Among the Hurons,

and the Natches, the dignity of the chief is said to be hereditary, and the right of succession in the female line. When this happens to be extinct, the most respectable matron of the tribe, we are informed, makes choice of whom she pleases to succeed.

The Cherokees are governed by several sachems, or chiefs, elected by the different villages; as are also the Creeks, and the Choctaws. The two latter punish adultery in a woman by cutting off her hair, which they will not suffer to grow till the corn is ripe, the next season; but the Illinois, for the same crime, cut off the women's noses and ears.

The Indians on the Lakes are formed into a sort of empire; and the emperor is elected from the eldest tribe, which is that of the Ottowawas. This authority is very considerable. A few years ago, the person who held this rank formed a design of uniting all the Indian nations, under his sovereignty; but he miscarried in the bold attempt.

In general, the American Indians live to a great age, although it is not easy to know from themselves the exact number of their years. It was asked of an Indian, who appeared to be extremely old, what age he was of? I am above twenty, was his reply. Upon putting the question in a different form, by reminding him of certain circumstances, in former times, my *machu*, said he, spoke to me, when I was young, of the Incas; and he had seen these princes. According to this reply, there must have elapsed, from the date of his *machu's* (his grandfather's) remembrance to that time, a period of, at least,

232 years. The man who made this reply, appeared to be 120 years of age, for, besides the whiteness of his hair and beard, his body was almost bent to the ground ; without, however, showing any other marks of debility, or suffering. This happened in 1764. This longevity, attended in general with uninterrupted health, is thought by some writers, to be the consequence in part of their vacancy from all serious thought and employment, joined also with the robust texture and confirmation of their bodily organs. If the Indians did not destroy one another, in their almost perpetual wars, and if their habits of intoxication were not so universal and incurable, they would be, of all the races of men who inhabit the globe, the most likely to extend, not only the bounds, but the enjoyments, of animal life to their utmost duration.

CHAP. VI.

Other Pictures of the Native Americans—Anecdote of an Algonquin Woman—Reproached with Pusillanimity—Perfidy—Weakness of Understanding—Indolence and Stupidity—Vanity and Conceit—their Eloquence disparaged.

LET us now attend to other pictures which have been given of the aboriginal inhabitants of America. The vices and defects of the American Indians have been by several writers, most unaccountably aggravated, and every virtue and good quality denied them. Their cruelties has been already described, and accounted for. The following anecdote of an Algonquin woman we find adduced as a remarkable proof of their innate thirst of blood. That nation being at war with the Iroquois, she happened to be taken prisoner, and was carried to one of the villages belonging to them. Here she was stripped naked, and her hands and feet bound, with ropes, in one of their cabins. In this condition she remained ten days, the savages sleeping round her every night. The eleventh night, while they were asleep, she found means to disengage one of her hands, with which she immediately freed herself from the ropes, and went to the door. Though she had now an opportunity of escaping unperceived, her revengeful temper could not let slip so favourable an opportunity of killing one of her enemies. The attempt was manifestly at the hazard of her own life; yet snatching

snatching up a hatchet, she killed the savage that lay next her: and, springing out of the cabin, concealed herself in a hollow tree, which she had observed the day before. The groans of the dying person soon alarmed the other savages, and the young ones immediately set out in pursuit of her. Perceiving, from her tree, that they all directed their course one way, and that no savage was near her, she left her sanctuary, and flying by an opposite direction, ran into a forest without being perceived. The second day after this happened, her footsteps were discovered; and they pursued her with such expedition, that the third day she discovered her enemies at her heels. Upon this, she threw herself into a pond of water: and diving among some weeds and bulrushes, she could just breath above water without being perceived. Her pursuers, after making the most diligent search, were forced to return.—For 35 days this woman held on her course through woods and deserts, without any other sustenance than that which roots and wild berries afforded her. When she came to the river St. Lawrence, she made, with her own hands, a kind of a wicker raft, on which she crossed it. As she went by the French for Trois-Riviers, without well knowing where she was, she perceived a canoe full of savages; and fearing they might be Iroquoise, ran again into the woods where she remained till sunset.—Continuing her course soon after, she saw Trois-Riviers; and was then discovered by a party whom she knew to be Hurons, a nation in alliance with the Algonquins. She then squatted down, behind a bush, calling out to them that she was not in a
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condition to be seen, because she was naked. They immediately threw her a blanket, and then conducted her to a fort, where she recounted her story.

Personal courage has been denied them. In proof of their pusillanimity, the following incidents are quoted from Charlevoix by lord Kames, in his *Sketches of the History of Man*. "The fort de Vercheres, in Canada, belonging to the French, was, in the year 1690, attacked by the Iroquois. They approached silently, preparing to scale the palisade, when some musket-shot made them retire. Advancing a second time, they were again repulsed, wondering that they could discover none but a woman, who was seen every where. This was Madame de Vercheres, who appeared as resolute as if supported by a numerous garrison. The hopes of storming a place without men to defend it, occasioned reiterated attacks. After two days siege they retired fearing to be intercepted in their retreat. Two years after, a party of the same nation appeared before the fort so unexpectedly, that a girl of fourteen, daughter of the proprietor, had but time to shut the gate. With the young woman there was not a soldier but one raw foldier. She showed herself, with her assistant, sometimes in one place, and sometimes in another; changing her dress frequently, in order to give some appearance of a garrison; always firing opportunely. The faint-hearted Iroquois decamped without success."

There is no instance it is said, either of a single Indian facing an individual, of any other nation, in fair and open combat, or of their
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jointly venturing to try the fate of battle with an equal number of any foes. Even with the greatest superiority of numbers, they dare not meet an open attack. Yet, notwithstanding this want of courage, they are still formidable; nay, it has been known, that a small party of them has routed a much superior body of regular troops: but this can only happen when they have surprised them in the fastnesses of their forests, where the covert of the wood may conceal them until they take their aim with the utmost certainty. After one such discharge they immediately retreat, without leaving the smallest trace of their route. It may easily be supposed, that an onset of this kind must produce confusion even among the steadiest troops, when they can neither know the number of their enemies, nor perceive the place where they lie in ambush.

Perfidy combined with cruelty has been also made a part of their character. Don Ulloa relates, that the Indians called *Natches*, in Louisiana, laid a plot of massacring, in one night, every individual belonging to the French colony established there. This plot they actually executed, notwithstanding the seeming good understanding that subsisted between them and these European neighbours. Such was the secrecy which they observed, that no person had the least suspicion of their design until the blow was struck. One Frenchman alone escaped, by favour of the darkness, to relate the disaster of his countrymen. The compassion of a female Indian contributed also, in some measure, to his exemption from the general massacre. The tribe of *Natches* had invited the Indians of other countries,

countries, even to a considerable distance, to join in the same conspiracy. The day, or rather the night, was fixed, on which they were to make an united attack on the French colonists. It was intimated by sending a parcel of rods, more or less numerous according to the local distance of each tribe, with an injunction to abstract one rod daily ; the day on which the last fell to be taken away being that fixed for the execution of their plan. The women were partners of the bloody secret. The parcels of rods being thus distributed, that belonging to the tribe of Natches happened to remain in the custody of a female. This woman either moved by her own feelings of compassion, or by the commiseration expressed by her female acquaintances, in the view of the proposed scene of bloodshed, abstracted one day three or four of the rods, and thus anticipated the term of their tribe's proceeding to the execution of the general conspiracy. The consequence of this was, that the Natches were the only actors in this carnage ; their distant associates having still several rods remaining at the time when the former made the attack. An opportunity was, thereby, given to the colonists, in those quarters, to take measures for their defence, and for preventing a more extensive execution of the design.

It was by conspiracies similar to this that the Indians of the province of Macas, in the kingdom of Quito, destroyed the opulent city of Logroño, the colony of Guambaya, and its capital Sevilla del Oro ; and that so completely, that it is no longer known in what place these settlements existed, or where that abundance of gold was found

found from which the last-mentioned city took the addition to its name. Similar ravages have been committed upon l'Imperial, in Chili; the colonies of the Missions of Chuncas, those of Darien, in Terra-Firma, and many other places, which have afforded scenes of this barbarous ferocity. These conspiracies are always carried on in the same manner. The secret is inviolably kept, the actors assemble at the precise hour appointed, and every individual is animated with the same sanguinary purposes. The males who fall into their hands are put to death, with every shocking circumstance that can be suggested by a cool and determined cruelty. The females are carried off and preserved, as monuments of their victory, to be employed as their occasions require.

Nor can this odious cruelty and treachery, it is said, be justly ascribed to their subjection to a foreign yoke, seeing the same character belongs equally to all the original inhabitants of this vast continent, even to those who have preserved their independence most completely. Certain it is, continues Ulloa, that these people, with the most limited capacities of every thing else, display an astonishing degree of penetration and subtlety, with respect to every object that involves treachery, bloodshed, and rapine. As to these, they seem to have been all educated at one school; and a secret, referring to any such plan, no consideration on earth can extort from them.

Their understandings also have been represented as not less contemptible than their manners are gross and brutal. Many nations, it has

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been said, are neither capable of forming an arrangement for futurity, nor does their solicitude or foresight extend so far. They set no value upon those things of which they are not in some immediate want. In the evening, says father Labat, when a Carib is going to rest, no consideration will tempt him to sell his hammock; but in the morning he will part with it for the slightest trifle. At the close of winter, a North-American, mindful of what he has suffered from the cold, sets himself with vigour to prepare materials for erecting a comfortable hut, to protect him against the inclemency of the succeeding season: but as soon as the weather becomes mild, he abandons his work, and never thinks of it more till the return of the cold compels him to resume it.—In short, to be free from labour seems to be the utmost wish of an American. They will continue, whole days, stretched in their hammocks, or seated on the earth, without changing their posture, raising their eyes, or uttering a single word. They cannot compute the succession of days, or of weeks. The different aspects of the moon alone engage their attention, as a measure of time. Of the year they have no other conception than what is suggested to them by the alternate heat of summer, and by the cold of winter; nor have they the least idea of applying to this period the obvious computation of the months which it contains. When it is asked of any old man, in Peru, even the most civilized, what age he is of? the only answer he can give is the number of caciques he has seen. It often happens, too, that they only recollect the most distant of these princes, in whose time
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certain circumstances had happened peculiarly memorable, whilst of those who lived in a more recent period they have lost all remembrance.

The same gross stupidity is alleged to be observable in those Indians who have retained their original liberty. They are never known to fix the dates of any events in their minds, or to trace the succession of circumstances that have arisen from such events. Their imagination takes in only the *present*, and in that only what intimately concerns themselves. Nor can discipline or instruction overcome this natural defect of apprehension. In fact, the subjected Indians in Peru, who have a continual intercourse with the Spaniards, who are furnished with curates perpetually occupied in giving them lessons of religion and morality, and who mix with all ranks of the civilized society established among them, are almost as stupid and barbarous as their countrymen who have had no such advantages. The Peruvians, while they lived under the government of their Incas, preserved the records of certain remarkable events. They had also a kind of regular government described by the historians of the conquest of Peru. This government originated entirely from the attention and abilities of their princes, and from the regulations enacted by them for directing the conduct of their subjects. This ancient degree of civilization among them gives ground to presume that their legislatures sprung from some race more enlightened than the other tribes of Indians ; a race, of which no individual seems to remain in the present times.

Vanity

Vanity and conceit are said to be blended with their ignorance, and treachery. Notwithstanding all they suffer from Europeans, they still, it is said, consider themselves as a race of men far superior to their conquerors. This proud belief, arising from their perverted ideas of excellence, is universal over the whole known continent of America. They do not think it possible that any people can be so intelligent as themselves. When they are detected in any of their plots, it is their common observation, that the Spaniards, or *Virochocas*, want to be as knowing as they are. Those of Louisiana and the countries adjacent, are equally vain of their superior understanding, confounding that quality with the cunning which they themselves constantly practise. The whole object of their transactions is to over-reach those with whom they deal. Yet though faithless themselves, they never forgive the breach of promise on the part of others. While the Europeans seek their amity by presents, they give themselves no concern to secure a reciprocal friendship. Hence, probably, arises their idea, that they must be a superior race of men, in ability and intelligence, to those who are at such pains to court their alliance, and avert their enmity.

Their natural eloquence has also been decried. The free tribes of savages who enter into conventions with the Europeans, it is observed, are accustomed to make long, pompous, and, according to their own notions, sublime harangues, but without any method, or connexion. The whole is a collection of disjointed metaphors and comparisons. The light, heat, and course of
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the sun, form the principal topic of their discourse; and these unintelligible reasonings are always accompanied with violent and ridiculous gestures. Numberless repetitions prolong the oration, which if not interrupted, would last whole days: at the same time, they meditate very accurately, before hand, in order to avoid mentioning any thing but what they are desirous to obtain. This pompous faculty of making speeches is also one of the grounds on which they conceive themselves to be superior to the nations of Europe; they imagine that it is their eloquence that procures them the favours they ask. The subjected Indians converse precisely in the same style. Prolix and tedious, they never know when to stop; so that excepting by the difference in language, it would be impossible, in this respect, to distinguish a civilized Peruvian from an inhabitant of the most savage districts to the northward.

CHAP. VII.

All the Charges in the foregoing Chapter partial, and not free from misrepresentation—Their Sensibility, &c.—Their Courage—Their Politeness and Civility.

BUT such partial and detached views, as the above, were they even free from misrepresentation, are not the just ground upon which to form an estimate of the character of the aboriginal inhabitants of the New-World. Their qualities, good and bad, (for they certainly possess both,) their way of life, the state of society among them, with all the circumstances of their condition, ought to be considered *in connexion*, and in regard to their mutual influence. Such a view has been given in the preceding part of this Book: from which, it is hoped, their real character may be easily deduced.

Many of the disagreeable traits exhibited in the anecdotes just quoted, are, indeed, extracted from Don Ulloa; an author of credit and reputation; but a Spaniard, and evidently biased, in some degree, by a desire to palliate the enormities of his countrymen in that quarter of the globe. And, with regard to the worst and least equivocal parts of the American character, cruelty and revenge; it may be fairly questioned, whether the instances of these, either in respect of their cause or their atrocity, be at all comparable to those exhibited in European history, and staining the annals of Christendom:—to those, for instance, of the Spaniards, themselves, at their first discovery of America; to those indicated by the engines found on board their mighty Armada,

Armada, in 1584; to those which, in cold blood, were perpetrated by the Dutch at Amboyna; to the dragoonings of the French; to their religious massacres: the horrors of their Revolution: or, even, to the *tender mercies* of the Inquisition!

Their friendships are strong, and faithful to the uttermost extremity. A remarkable instance of this appeared in the case of the late Col. Byrd of Virginia, who was sent to the Cherokee nation to transact some business with them. It happened that some of our disorderly people had just killed one or two of that nation. It was, therefore, proposed in the council of the Cherokees, that Col. Byrd should be put to death in revenge for the loss of their countrymen. Among them was a chief called *Silouee*, who, on some former occasion, had contracted an acquaintance and friendship with Col. Byrd. He came to him every night, in his tent, and told him not to be afraid, they should not kill him. After many days deliberation, however, the determination was, contrary to *Silouee's* expectation, that Byrd should be put to death, and some warriors were dispatched as executioners. *Silouee* attended them; and when they entered the tent, he threw himself between them and Byrd, and said to the warriors, "This man is my friend: before you get at him you must kill me." On which they returned; and the council respected the principle so much as to recede from their determination.

That "they are timorous and cowardly" is a character with which there is little reason to charge them, when we recollect the manner in which

which the Iroquois met Mons.—, who marched into their country; in which the old men, who scorned to fly, or to survive the capture of their town, braved death, like the old Romans, in the time of the Gauls, and in which they soon after revenged themselves by sacking and destroying Montreal. In short, the Indian is brave, when an enterprize depends on bravery; education with him making the point of honour to consist in the destruction of an enemy by stratagem, and in the preservation of his own person free from injury: or, perhaps, this is nature, while it is education which teaches us to honour force more than finesse. He will defend himself against an host of enemies, always choosing to be killed rather than to surrender, though it be to the whites, who, he knows, will treat him well. In other situations, also, he meets death with more deliberation; and endures tortures with a firmness unknown almost to religious enthusiasm among us.

To form a just estimate of their genius and mental powers, Mr Jefferson observes, more facts are wanting, and great allowance is to be made for those circumstances of their situation which call for a display of particular talents only. This done, we shall, probably, find that the Americans are formed, in mind as well as in body, on the same model with the *homo sapiens Europæus*. The principles of their society forbidding all compulsion they are to be led to duty and to enterprize by personal influence and persuasion. Hence eloquence in council, bravery and address in war, become the foundations of all consequence with them. To these acquirements all
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their faculties are directed. Of their bravery and address in war we have multiplied proofs, because we have been the subjects on which they were exercised. Of their eminence in oratory we have fewer examples, because it is displayed chiefly in their own councils. Some, however we have of very superior lustre. We may challenge the whole orations of Demosthenes and Cicero, and of any more eminent orator, if Europe has furnished more eminent, to produce a single passage superior to the speech of Logan, a Mingo chief, to Lord Dunmore, when governor of Virginia.

When any of them come into our towns, our people are apt to crowd round them, gaze upon them, and incommode them when they desire to be private; this they esteem great rudeness, and the effect of the want of instruction in the rules of civility, and good manners. "We have," say they, "as much curiosity as you; and when you come into our towns, we wish for opportunities of looking at you; but for this purpose we hide ourselves behind bushes, where you are to pass, and never intrude ourselves into your company."

Their manner of entering one another's villages has likewise its rules. It is reckoned uncivil in travelling strangers to enter a village abruptly, without giving notice of their approach. Therefore, as soon as they arrive within hearing, they stop and hollow, remaining there till invited to enter. Two old men usually come out to them, and lead them in. There is in every village a vacant dwelling, called the *stranger's-house*. Here they are placed, while the old men go round from
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hut to hut, acquainting the inhabitants that strangers are arrived, who are probably, hungry and weary ; and every one sends them what he can spare of victuals, and skins to repose on. When the strangers are refreshed, pipes and tobacco are brought ; and then, but not before, conversation begins, with inquiries who they are, whither bound, what news, &c. and it usually ends with offers of service ; if the strangers have occasion for guides, or any necessaries for continuing their journey ; and nothing is exacted for the entertainment.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Peopling of America—Old and New-Continent supposed to have been formerly joined—At present separated only by a narrow Strait—Conjectures concerning the first Migrations into the New-Continent—Mr. Penant's opinion—Customs, &c common to the eastern Asiatics and the Americans—Brute Creation migrated by the same Route.

THE questions which now present themselves to our notice are, From what part of the Old-World has America, most probably, been peopled?—And how was this peopling accomplished?—

Few questions in the history of mankind have been more agitated than these.—Philosophers, and men of learning and ingenuity, have been speculating upon them, ever since the discovery of the American-Islands, by Christopher Columbus.—But notwithstanding all the labours of Acoſta, of Grotius, and of many other writers of eminence, the subject still affords an ample field for the researches of the man of science, and for the fancies of the theorist.

Discoveries, long ago made, inform us, that an intercourse between the Old-Continent and America might be carried on, with facility, from the north-west extremities of Europe and the north-east boundaries of Asia. In the ninth century the Norwegians discovered Greenland, and planted a colony there. The communication with

with that country was renewed in the last century by Moravian missionaries, in order to propagate their doctrines in that bleak and uncultivated region. By them we are informed that the north-west coast of Greenland is separated from America by a very narrow strait ; that at the bottom of the bay it is highly probable that they are united ; that the Esquimaux of America perfectly resemble the Greenlanders, in their aspect, dress, and mode of living ; and that a Moravian missionary, well acquainted with the language of Greenland, having visited the country of the Esquimaux, found, to his astonishment, that they spoke the same language with the Greenlanders, and were, in every respect, the same people. The same species of animals, too, are found in the contiguous regions. The bear, the wolf, the fox, the hare, the deer, the roebuck, the elk, frequent the forests of North-America, as well as those in the north of Europe.

Other discoveries have proved, that if the two continents of Asia and America be separated at all, it is only by a narrow strait. From this part of the Old-Continent, also inhabitants may have passed into the New ; and the resemblance between the Indians of America and the eastern inhabitants of Asia, would induce us to conjecture that they have a common origin. This is the opinion adopted by Dr. Robertson, in his History of America, where we find it accompanied with the following narrative.

“ While those immense regions which stretched eastward from the river Oby to the sea of Kamtschatka were unknown, or imperfectly explored,

explored, the north-east extremities of our hemisphere were supposed to be so far distant from any part of the New-World, that it was not easy to conceive how any communication should have been carried on between them. But the Russians, having subjected the western part of Siberia to their empire, gradually extended their knowledge of that vast country, by advancing towards the east into unknown provinces. These were discovered by hunters in their excursions after game, or by soldiers employed in levying the taxes ; and the court of Moscow estimated the importance of those countries only by the small addition which they made to its revenue. At length, Peter the Great ascended the Russian throne : His enlightened, comprehensive mind, intent upon every circumstance that could aggrandize his empire, or render his reign illustrious, discerned consequences of those discoveries, which had escaped the observation of his ignorant predecessors. He perceived, that, in proportion as the regions of Asia extended towards the east they must approach nearer to America ; that the communication between the two continents, which had long been searched for in vain, would probably be found in this quarter ; and that, by opening this intercourse, some part of the wealth and commerce of the western world might be made to flow into his dominions by a new channel. Such an object suited a genius that delighted in grand schemes. Peter drew up instructions with his own hand for prosecuting this design, and gave orders for carrying it into execution.

“ His successors adopted his ideas, and pursued his plan. The officers whom the Russian

court employed in this service, had to struggle with so many difficulties, that their progress was extremely slow. Encouraged by some faint traditions among the people of Siberia concerning a successful voyage in the year 1648 round the north-east promontory of Asia, they attempted to follow the same course. Vessels were fitted out, with this view, at different times, from the rivers Lena and Lolyma ; but in a frozen ocean, which nature seems not to have destined for navigation, they were exposed to many disasters, without being able to accomplish their purpose. No vessel fitted out by the Russian court ever doubled this formidable cape ; we are indebted for what is known of those extreme regions of Asia, to the discoveries made in excursions by land. In all those provinces, an opinion prevails, that countries of great extent and fertility lie at no considerable distance from their own coasts. These the Russians imagined to be part of America ; and several circumstances concurred not only in confirming them in this belief, but in persuading them that some portion of that continent could not be very remote. Trees of various kinds, unknown in those naked regions of Asia, are driven upon the coast by an easterly wind. By the same wind floating ice is brought thither in a few days ; flocks of birds arrive annually from the same quarter ; and a tradition obtains among the inhabitants, of an intercourse formerly carried on with some countries situated to the east.

“ After weighing all these particulars, and comparing the position of the countries in Asia which they had discovered, with such parts in
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the north-west of America as were already known ; the Russian court formed a plan, which would have hardly occurred to any nation less accustomed to engage in arduous undertakings, and to contend with great difficulties. Orders were issued to build two vessels at Ochotz, in the sea of Kamtschatka, to sail on a voyage of discovery. Though that dreary uncultivated region furnished nothing that could be of use in constructing them but some larch-trees ; though not only the iron, the cordage, the sails, and all the numerous articles requisite for their equipment, but the provisions for victualling them, were to be carried through the immense deserts of Siberia, along rivers of difficult navigation, and roads almost impassable, the mandate of the sovereign, and the perseverance of the people, at last surmounted every obstacle. Two vessels were finished ; and, under the command of captains Behring and Tichirikow, sailed from Kamtschatka in quest of the New-World, in a quarter where it had never been approached. They shaped their course towards the east ; and though a storm soon separated the vessels, which never rejoined, and many disasters befel them, the expectations from the voyage were not altogether frustrated. Each of the commanders discovered land, which to them appeared to be part of the American continent ; and according to their observations, it seems to be situated within a few degrees of the north-west coast of California. Each set some of his people ashore : but in one place the inhabitants fled as the Russians approached ; in another, they carried off those who landed and destroyed their boats. The violence

violence of the weather, and the distress of their crews, obliged both to quit this inhospitable coast. In their return they touched at several islands, which stretch in a chain from east to west between the country which they had discovered and the coast of Asia. They had some intercourse with the natives, who seemed to them to resemble the North-Americans. They presented to the Russians the calumet, or pipe of peace, which is a symbol of friendship universal among the people of North-America, and an usage of arbitrary institution peculiar to them."

The more recent and accurate discoveries of that illustrious navigator Cooke, and of his successor Clerke, have brought the matter still nearer to certainty. The sea, from the south of Behring's Straits to the crescent of isles between Asia and America, is very shallow. It deepens from these straits (as the British seas do from those of Dover) till soundings are lost in the Pacific Ocean : but that does not take place but to the south of the isles. Between them and the straits is an increase from 12 to 54 fathoms, except only off St. Thaddeus-Noss, where there is a channel of greater depth. From the volcanic disposition, it has been judged probable, not only that there was a separation of the continents at the straits of Behring, but that the whole space from the isles to that small opening had once been occupied by land ; and that the fury of the watery element, actuated by that of fire, had in most remote times, subverted and overwhelmed the tract, and left the islands to serve as monumental fragments.

Without adopting all the fancies of Buffon, there can be no doubt, as the Abbe Clavigero observes

observes, that our planet has been subjected to great vicissitudes since the deluge. At present, they plough those lands over which ships, formerly, sailed, and now they sail over lands which were, formerly, cultivated : earthquakes have swallowed some lands, and subterraneous fires have thrown up others : the rivers have formed new soil with their mud : the sea, retreating from the shores, has lengthened the land in some places, and advancing in others has diminished it ; it has separated some territories which were formerly united, and formed new straits and gulphs. We have examples of all these revolutions in the past century. Sicily was united to the continent of Naples, as Eubœa, now the Black Sea, was to Bœotia. Diodorus, Strabo, and other antient authors, say the same thing of Spain, and of Africa ; and affirm, that by a violent eruption of the ocean upon the land between the mountains Abyla and Calpe, that communication was broken, and the Mediterranean Sea was formed. Among the people of Ceylon there is a tradition that a similar irruption of the sea separated their island from the peninsula of India. The same thing is believed by those of Malabar with respect to the isles of Maldivia, and with the Malaysians with respect to Sumatra. It is certain, says the count de Buffon, that in Ceylon the earth has lost 30 or 40 leagues, which the sea has taken from it ; on the contrary, Tongres, a place of the Low-Countries, has gained 30 leagues of land from the sea. The northern part of Egypt owes its existence to inundations of the Nile. The earth which this river has brought from the inland countries of Africa, and deposited in its

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inundations,

inundations, has formed a soil of more than 25 cubits of depth. In like manner, adds the above author, the province of the Yellow-River in China, and that of Louisiana, have only been formed of the mud of rivers. Pliny, Seneca, Diodorus, and Strabo, report innumerable examples of similar revolutions, which we omit, that our dissertation may not become too prolix; as also many modern revolutions, which are related in the theory of the earth of the Count de Buffon, and other authors. In South America, all those who have observed with philosophic eyes the peninsula of Yucatan, do not doubt that that country has once been the bed of the sea; and, on the contrary, in the channel of Bahama, many indications show the island of Cuba to have been once united to the continent of Florida. In the strait which separates America from Asia many islands are found, which probably were the mountains belonging to that tract of land which we suppose to have been swallowed up by earthquakes; which is made more probable by the multitude of volcanos which we know of in the peninsula of Kamtschatka. It is imagined, however, that the sinking of that land, and the separation of the two continents, have been occasioned by those great and extraordinary earthquakes mentioned in the histories of the Americans, which formed an æra almost as memorable as that of the deluge. The histories of the Voltecas fix such earthquakes in the year 1 Tecpatl but as we know not to what century that belonged, we can form no conjecture of the time that great calamity happened. If a great earthquake should overwhelm the isthmus of Suçz, and there
should

should be at the same time as great a scarcity of historians as there were in the first ages after the deluge, it would be doubted, in 300 or 400 years after, whether Asia had ever been united by that part to Africa and many would firmly deny it.

Whether that great event, the separation of the continents, took place before or after the population of America, it is impossible for us to determine: but we are indebted to the above-mentioned navigators for settling the long dispute about the point from which it was effected. Their observations prove, that in one place the distance between continent and continent is only 39 miles, not (as the author of the *Recherches Philosophiques sur les Americains* would have it) 800 leagues. This narrow strait has also in the middle two islands, which would greatly facilitate the migration of the Asiatics into the New-World, supposing that it took place in canoes after the convulsion which rent the two continents asunder. Besides, it may be added, that these straits are, even in the summer, often filled with ice; in winter, often frozen, in either case, mankind might find an easy passage; in the last, the way was extremely ready for quadrupeds to cross and stock the continent of America. But where, from the vast expanse of the north-eastern world, to fix on the first tribes who contributed to people the New-Continent, now inhabited almost from end to end, is a matter that baffles human reason. The learned may make bold and ingenious conjectures, but plain good sense cannot always accede to them.

As mankind increased in numbers, they naturally protruded one another forward. Wars might be another cause of migrations. There
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appears no reason why the Asiatic north might not be an *officina virorum*, as well as the European. The overteeming country, to the east of the Riphæan-Mountains, must find it necessary to discharge its inhabitants: the first great wave of people was forced forward by the next to it, more tumid and more powerful than itself: successive and new impulses continually arriving, short rest was given to that which spread over a more eastern tract; disturbed again and again, it covered fresh regions; at length, reaching the farthest limits of the Old-World, found a new one, with ample space to occupy unmolested for ages; till Columbus cursed them by a discovery, which brought again new sins and new deaths to both worlds.

“ The inhabitants of the New-World (Mr. Pennant observes), do not consist of the offspring of a single nation: different people, at several periods, arrived there; and it is impossible to say, that any one is now to be found on the original spot of its colonization. It is impossible, with the lights which we have so recently received, to admit that America could receive its inhabitants (at least the bulk of them) from any other place than eastern Asia. A few proofs may be added, taken from customs or dresses common to the inhabitants of both worlds; some have been long extinct in the old, others remain in both in full force.

“ The custom of scalping was a barbarism in use with the Scythians, who carried about them, at all times, this savage mark of triumph: they cut a circle round the neck, and stripped off the skin, as they would that of an ox. A little image,
found

found among the Kalinucs, of a Tartarian deity, mounted on a horse, and sitting on a human skin, with scalps pendant from the breast, fully illustrates the custom of the Scythian progenitors, as described by the Greek historian. This usage, as we well know, by horrid experience, is continued to this day in America. The ferocity of the Scythians to their prisoners extended to the remotest part of Asia. The Kamtschatkans, even at the time of their discovery by the Russians, put their prisoners to death by the most lingering and excruciating inventions; a practice in full force to this very day among the aboriginal Americans. A race of the Scythians were styled *Anthropophagi*, from their feeding on human flesh. The people of Nootka-Sound still make a repast on their fellow-creatures; but what is more wonderful, the savage allies of the British army have been known to throw the mangled limbs of the French prisoners into the horrible caldron, and devour them with the same relish as those of a quadruped.

“ The Scythians were said, for a certain time annually to transform themselves into wolves, and again to resume the human shape. The new discovered Americans about Nootka-Sound, at this time disguise themselves in dresses made of skins of wolves, and other wild beasts, and wear even the heads fitted to their own. These habits they use in the chase, to circumvent the animals of the field. But would not ignorance or superstition ascribe to a supernatural metamorphosis these temporary expedients to deceive the brute creation ?

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“ In their marches, the Kamtschatkans never went abreast, but followed one another in the same track. The same custom is exactly observed by the Americans.

“ The Tongusi, the most numerous nation resident in Siberia, prick their faces with small punctures, with a needle, in various shapes; then rub into them charcoal, so that the marks become indelible. This custom is still observed in several parts of America. The Indians on the back of Hudson’s Bay, to this day, perform the operation exactly in the same manner, and puncture the skin into various figures; as the natives of New-Zealand do at present, and as the ancient Britons did with the herb *glastum*, or woad; and the Virginians, on the first discovery of that country by the English.

“ The Tongusi use canoes made of birch-bark, distended over ribs of wood, and nicely sewed together. The Canadian, and many other American nations, use no other sort of boats. The paddles of the Tongusi, are broad at each end; those of the people near Cook’s river, and of Oonalascha, are of the same form.

“ In burying of the dead, many of the American nations place the corpse at full length, after preparing it according to their customs; others place it in a sitting posture, and lay by it the most valuable cloathing, wampum, and other matters. The Tartars did the same: and both people agree in covering the whole with earth, so as to form a tumulus, barrow, or carnedd.

“ Some of the American nations hang their dead in trees. Certain of the Tongusi observe a similar custom.

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“ We can draw some analogy from dress ; conveniency in that article must have been consulted on both continents, and originally the materials must have been the same, the skins of birds and beasts. It is singular that the conic bonnet of the Chinese should be found among the people of Nootka. I cannot give into the notion, that the Chinese contributed to the population of the New-World ; but we can, readily, admit that a shipwreck might furnish those Americans with a pattern for that part of the dress.

“ In respect to the features and form of the human body, almost every tribe found along the western coast has some similitude to the Tartar nations, and, still, retain the little eyes, small noses, high cheeks, and broad faces. They vary in size, from the lusty Calmucs to the little Nogaïans. The internal Americans, such as the Five-Indian nations, who are tall of body, robust in make, and of oblong faces, are derived from a variety among the Tartars themselves. The fine race of Tschutski seems to be the stock from which those Americans are derived. The Tschutski, again from that fine race of Tartars the Kabardinski, or inhabitants of Kabarda.

“ But, about Prince William’s Sound begins a race chiefly distinguished by their dress, their canoes, and instruments of the chase, from the tribes to the south of them. Here commences the Esquimaux people, or the race known by that name in the high latitudes of the eastern side of the continent. They may be divided into two varieties. At this place they are of the largest size. As they advance northward, they decrease in height, till they dwindle into the dwarfish tribes

tribes which occupy some of the coasts of the Icy-Sea, and the maritime parts of Hudson's-Bay, of Greenland, and Terra de-Labrador. The famous Japanese map places some islands seemingly within the straits of Behring, on which is bestowed the title of *Ya-Zue*, or the kingdom of the Dwarfs. Does not this in some manner authenticate the chart, and give us reason to suppose that America was not unknown to the Japanese; and that they had (as is mentioned by Kämpfer and Charlevoix) made voyages of discovery, and, according to the last, actually wintered on the Continent? That they might have met with the Esquimaux is very probable; whom in comparison of themselves, they might justly distinguish by the name of *dwarfs*. The reason of their low stature is very obvious: these dwell in a most severe climate, amidst penury of food; the former in one much more favourable, abundant in provisions; circumstances that tend to prevent the degeneracy of the human frame. At the island of Oonalascha, a dialect of the Esquimaux is in use, which was continued along the whole coast from thence northward.

The continent which stocked America with the human race, is supposed, by Mr. Pennant, to have poured in their brute creation through the same passage. Very few quadrupeds continued in the peninsula of Kamtschatka; Mr. Pennant enumerates only 25 which are inhabitants of land: all the rest persisted in their migration, and fixed their residence in the New-World. Seventeen of the Kamtschatkan quadrupeds are found in America: others are common only to Siberia, or Tartary, having, for unknown causes, entirely

entirely evacuated Kamtschatka, and divided themselves between America and the parts of Asia above cited. Multitudes again, have deserted the Old-World, even to an individual, and fixed their seats at distances most remote from the spot from which they took their departure; from mount Ararat, the resting place of the ark, in a central part of the Old World, and excellently adapted for the dispersion of the animal creation, to all its parts. “We need not be startled (says Mr. Pennant) at the vast journeys many of the quadrupeds took to arrive at their present seats. Might not numbers of species have found convenient abodes in the vast alps of Asia, instead of wandering to the Cordilleras of Chili? or might not others have been contented with the boundless plains of Tartary, instead of travelling thousands of miles to the extensive flats of Pampas?—To endeavour to elucidate common difficulties is certainly a trouble worthy of the philosopher, and of the divine; not to attempt would be a criminal indolence, a neglect to

Vindicate the ways of God to man.

But there are multitudes of points beyond the human ability to explain, and yet are truths undeniable: the facts are indisputable, notwithstanding the causes are concealed. In such cases, faith must be called into our relief. It would, certainly, be the height of folly to deny to that Being who broke open the great fountains of the deep to effect the deluge—and afterwards, to compel the dispersion of mankind to people the globe, directed the confusion of languages—pow-

ers inferior in their nature to these. After such wondrous proofs of omnipotency, it would be absurd to deny the possibility of infusing instinct into the brute creation. *Deusest animabrutorum*; "God himself is the soul of brutes:" his pleasure must have determined their will, and directed several species, and even whole genera, by impulse irresistible, to move by slow progression to their destined regions. But for that, the llama and the pacos might still have inhabited the heights of Armenia; and some more neighbouring Alps, instead of labouring to gain the distant Peruvian Andes; the whole genus of armadillos, slow of foot, would never have quitted the torrid zone of the Old-World for that of the New; and the whole tribe of monkeys would have gambolled together in the forests of India, instead of dividing their residence between the shades of Indostan, and the deep forests of the Brasils: lions and tigers might have infested the hot parts of the New-World, as the first do the deserts of Africa, and the last the provinces of Asia; or the pantherine animals of South-America might have remained additional scourges with the savage beasts of those ancient continents. The Old-World would have been overstocked with animals; the New remained an unanimated waste! or both have contained an equal portion of every beast of the earth. Let it not be objected, that animals bred in a southern climate, after the descent of their parents from the ark, would be unable to bear the frost and snow of the rigorous north, before they reached South-America, the place of their final destination. It must be considered, that the migration must have been the work of
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ages ; that in the course of their progress each generation grew hardened to the climate it had reached ; and that, after their arrival in America, they would again be gradually accustomed to warmer and warmer climates, in their removal from north to south, as they had in the reverse, or from south to north. Part of the tigers still inhabit the eternal snows of Ararat, and multitudes of the very same species live, but with exalted rage, beneath the line, in the burning soil of Borneo, or Sumatra ; but neither lions or tigers ever migrated into the New-World. A few of the first are found in India and Persia, but they are found in numbers only in Africa. The tiger extends as far north as western Tartary, in lat. 40 50, but never has reached America.

In fine, the conjectures of the learned respecting the vicinity of the Old and New-World are now, by the discoveries of late great Navigators, lost in conviction ; and, in the place of imaginary hypothesis, the real place of migration is almost incontrovertibly pointed out. Some (from a passage in Plato) have extended over the Atlantic, from the straits of Gibraltar to the coast of North and South-America, an island equal in size to the continents of Asia and Africa ; over which had passed as over a bridge, from the latter, men and animals ; wool-headed negroes, and lions and tigers, none of which ever existed in the New-World. A mighty sea arose, and, in one day and night, engulfed this stupendous tract, and with it every being which had not completed its migration into America. The whole negro race, and almost every quadruped, now inhabitants of Africa, perished in this critical day.

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Five only are to be found, at present, in America ; and of these only one, the bear, in South-America ; Not a single custom, common to the natives of Africa and America, to evince a common origin. Of the quadrupeds, the bear, stag, wolf, fox, and weefel, are the only animals which we can pronounce, with certainty, to be found on each continent. The stag, the fox, and the weefel, have made, also, no farther progress in Africa than the north ; but on the same continent the wolf is spread over every part, yet is unknown in South-America, as are the fox and weefel. In Africa and in South-America the bear is very local, being met with only in the north of the first, and on the Andes in the last. Some cause unknown arrested its progress in Africa and impelled the migration of a few into the Chilian-Alps, and induced them to leave unoccupied the vast tract from North-America to the lofty cordilleras.

CHAP. X.

Remains of Antiquity in America.

ALLUSIONS have often been made by travellers, and others, to some remains in America which appeared to owe their original to a people more intimately acquainted with the arts of life, than the *savage* tribes which inhabited this continent on its first discovery by the Europeans, or than those which are, at present, scattered through various parts of its extent. In a small work, published in London, in 1787, entitled *Observations on some parts of natural history: to which is prefixed, an account of several remarkable vestiges of an ancient date, which have been discovered in different parts of America.** Part I. the author has collected the scattered hints of Kalm, of Carver, of Filson, and some other travellers, and writers; and has added a plan and description of a regular work, which he supposes to have been a *fortification*, that has been discovered near the confluence of the rivers Ohio and Muskingum. The remains described, or alluded to, in this publication, are characters, or singular marks, which were supposed by some Jesuits, who examined them to be *Tartarian*; furrows, as if the land had been ploughed; a stone wall, mounds of earth, of different forms and sizes; earthen walls, and ditches, &c.

The

* By Dr. Benjamin Smith Barton, of Philadelphia.

The mounds of earth are supposed, by the author, to have been designed for different purposes : the *smaller* ones are, evidently, tumuli, or repositories of the dead ; and, he thinks, the larger ones, as that at Grave-creek (a branch of the Ohio) ; many which are to be seen in Mexico, and in other parts of America, were intended to serve as the bases of temples.

The most curious part of this little work is the description, together with the plan, of the supposed fortification, above alluded to. It is situated on the east side of the river Muskingum, about half a mile above its junction with the river Ohio, nearly in the latitude of 39. 21. and about 170 miles below Fort-Pitt, at the confluence of the rivers Alleghany and Monongahela. The town as it has been sometimes called, is a large level, encompassed by walls of a tetragon form ; occupying a piece of ground about one quarter of a mile square. These walls are from six to ten feet in height, and from twenty to forty feet in thickness. They are, at present, overgrown with vegetables of different kinds, and, among others, with trees, some of which are of a very considerable diameter. Each side of the walls is divided, by three chasms, or openings, into four, nearly equal parts ; these chasms are directly opposite to each other. Within the walls there are three elevations ; the largest of these is of an oblong form, 74 yards long, 44 yards broad, and 6 feet in height : the second is nearly of a similar form, 50 yards long, and 40 broad ; the third is, also, an oblong mount, but much smaller. Besides these three elevations, there is a small circular mount, placed nearly in the centre
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of four small caves ; and a “femi-circular parapet,” which, it is not improbable, may have been designed to guard one of the chafms or openings : this parapet has a small mount. The author observes, that the three elevations “considerably resemble some of the eminences which “have been discovered near the river Mississippi,” of which he has given an account in his publication.

The fortifications (for a distinction has been made between them and the town, but we cannot see with what great propriety) are nearly of the same form as the town. The walls have here, also openings : and at each of these openings there is one, or more of the small circular mounts.

The pyramid is one of the most conspicuous parts of these singular remains. It is of a circular form ; 50 feet in height, 390 feet in circumference ; and is surrounded with a ditch, 5 feet deep, and 15 feet wide : externally to the ditch there is a parapet, which is 759 feet in circumference. The pyramid, as well as the eminences and walls, is now covered with grasses, and other kinds of vegetables. Besides these, there are several other eminences, of which we do not think it necessary to take any notice, in this place.

The author’s opinion concerning these remains is this ; that they owe their original to “the Toltecas, or some other Mexican nation,” and that these people were, probably, the descendants of the Danes. The first member of this *conjecture* appears not improbable, if we consider the similarity of the Mexican mounts and fortifications, described by Torquemada, by the Abbe Clavigero

Clavigero, and by other authors, to those of which our author has published an account ; and also, if we consider the tradition of the Mexicans, that they came from the north-west, in which tract great numbers of these remains have been discovered. As to the second member of this conjecture, we think it but feebly supported ; although we are not ignorant that Grotius and other writers have endeavoured to prove, that the northern nations of Europe had, actually, some intercourse with America, long before the time of Columbus.

CHAP. XI.

The Ancients supposed to have had some imperfect Notion of a New World—Pretensions of the Welsh to the Discovery of America—Those of the Norwegians better founded—Projects of CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS—his Voyage—Astonishment occasioned by observing the variation of the Compass—his perilous Situation—his Crew ready to mutiny—their Joy on descrying Land—they land on one of the islands of the New-World—the Continent afterwards discovered.

IT is believed, by many, that the ancients had some imperfect notion of the New-World ; and several ancient authors are quoted in confirmation of this opinion. In a book, ascribed to the philosopher Aristotle, we are told that the Carthaginians discovered an island, far beyond the pillars of Hercules, large, fertile, and
finely

finely watered, with navigable rivers, but uninhabited. This island was distant a few days sailing from the continent : its beauty induced the discoverers to settle there ; but the policy of Carthage dislodged the colony, and laid strict prohibition on all the subjects of the state not to attempt any future establishment. This account is also confirmed by an historian of no mean credit, who relates, that the Tyrians would have settled a colony on the newly-discovered island, but were opposed by the Carthaginians for state reasons.

The Welsh, fondly, imagine that their country contributed, in 1170, to people the New-World by the adventure of Madoc, son of Owen Gwynedd, who, on the death of his father, sailed there, and colonized part of the country. It is pretended that Madoc made two Voyages : that sailing west, he left Iceland so far to the north, that he came to a land unknown, where he saw many strange things ; that he returned home, and, making a report of the fertility of the newly-discovered country, prevailed on numbers of the Welsh, of each sex, to accompany him on a second voyage, from which he never returned. The favourers of this opinion assert, that several Welsh words, such as *gwrando*, to hearken, or listen ; the isle of *Croeso*, or welcome ; *Cape-Breton*, from the name of the British-Island ; *gwynndwr*, or “the white water ;” and *pingwin*, or “the bird with the white head ;” are to be found in the American language. But likeness of sound, in a few words will not be deemed sufficient to establish the fact ; especially if the meaning has been evidently perverted : for example,

ample, the whole penguin tribe have, unfortunately, not only black heads, but are not inhabitants of the northern hemisphere; the name was also bestowed on them by the Dutch, a *pinguedine*, from their excessive fatness. It may be added that the Welsh were never a naval people; that the age in which Madoc lived was peculiarly ignorant in navigation; and the most which they could have attempted must have been a mere coasting voyage.

The Norwegians put in for a share of the glory, on grounds rather better than the Welsh. By their settlements in Iceland, and in Greenland, they had arrived within so small a distance of the New-World, that there is a probability of its having been touched at by a people so versed in maritime affairs, and so adventurous, as the ancient Normans were. The proofs are much more numerous than those produced by the British historians; for the discovery is mentioned in several of the Icelandic manuscripts. The period was about the year 1002, when it was visited by one Biorn: and the discovery pursued to greater effect by Lief, the son Eric, the discoverer of Greenland. It does not appear that they reached farther than Labrador; on which coast they met with the Esquimaux, on whom they bestowed the name of *Skrleingues*, or dwarfish people, from their small stature. They were armed with bows and arrows, and had leathern canoes, such as they have at present. All this is probable; nor should the tale of the German, called *Turkil*, one of the crew, invalidate the account. He was one day, missing; but soon returned, leaping and singing, with all
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the extravagant marks of joy a *bon vivant* could show on discovering the inebriating fruit of his country, the grape: Torfæus even says, that he returned in a state of Intoxication. To convince his commander, he brought several bunches; and the country, from that circumstance, was named *Vinland*. There appears no reason to doubt of the discovery; it is thought probable, however, that these people reached no farther than the barren country of Labrador. In short, it is from a much later period that we must date the *unequivocal* discovery of America.

TOWARDS the close of the 15th century, Venice and Genoa, being rivals in commerce, in which the former had greatly the superiority, Christopher Colon, or Columbus, a native of Genoa, conceived a project of sailing to the East-Indies, by directing his course westward. This design was founded upon a mistake of the geographers, of those days, who placed the eastern parts of Asia immensely too far to the eastward; so that had they been in the right, the shortest way would have been to sail directly westward. Columbus applied, first to his own countrymen; but being rejected by them, he applied to Portugal, where he met with no better success. Spain was his next resource; here, after eight years attendance, he obtained in 1492, a fleet of three ships. The largest, a ship of no considerable burden, was commanded by Columbus, as admiral, who gave it the name of *Santa Maria*, out of respect for the Blessed Virgin, whom he honoured with singular devotion. Of the second called the *Pinta*, Martin Pinzon was captain

captain and his brother Francis Pilot. The third, named the *Nigna*, was under the command of Vincent Yanez Pinzon. These two were light vessels, hardly superior in burden, or, force, to large boats. This squadron, if it merits that name, was victualled for 12 months, and had on board 90 men, mostly sailors, together with a few adventurers, who followed the fortune of Columbus, and some gentlemen of Isabella's court, whom she appointed to accompany him. Though the expense of the undertaking was one of the circumstances which chiefly alarmed the court of Spain, and retarded, so long, the negotiation with Columbus, the sum employed in fitting out this squadron did not exceed 4000*l*. As Columbus was deeply impressed with sentiments of religion, he would not set out upon an expedition so arduous, and of which one great object was to extend the knowledge of the Christian faith without imploring, publicly, the guidance and protection of Heaven. With this view, he, together with all the persons under his command, marched, in solemn procession, to the monastery of Rabida. After confessing their sins, and obtaining absolution, they received the holy sacrament from the hands of the guardian who joined his prayers to theirs for the success of an enterprise which he had so zealously patronized.

Next morning, being Friday the third day of August, in the year 1492, Columbus set sail, a little before sun-rise, in presence of a vast crowd of spectators, who sent up their supplications to Heaven for the prosperous issue of the voyage, which they wished rather than expected. Columbus

Columbus steered, directly for the Canary-Islands, and arrived there without any occurrence that would have deserved notice on any other occasion: but in a voyage of such expectation and importance, every circumstance was the object of attention. The rudder of the Pinta broke loose, the day after she left the harbour, and that accident alarmed the crew, no less superstitious than unskilful, as a certain omen of the unfortunate destiny of the expedition. Even in the short run to the Canaries, the ships were found to be so crazy and ill appointed, as to be very improper for a navigation which was expected to be both long and dangerous. Columbus refitted them, however to the best of his power; and having supplied himself with fresh provisions, he took his departure from Gomera, one of the most westerly of the Canary-Islands, on the sixth day of September.

Here the voyage of discovery may properly be said to begin; for Columbus, holding his course due west, left immediately, the usual track of navigation, and stretched into unfrequented and unknown seas. The first day, as it was very calm, he made but little way; but on the second he lost sight of the Canaries; and many of the sailors, already dejected and dismayed, when they contemplated the boldness of the undertaking, began to beat their breasts, and to shed tears, as if they were never more to behold land. Columbus comforted them with assurance of success, and the prospect of vast wealth, in those opulent regions whither he was conducting them. He regulated every thing by his sole authority; he

he superintended the executing of every order ; and, allowing himself only a few hours for sleep, he was at all other times upon deck. As his course lay through seas which had not, formerly, been visited, the sounding-line, or instruments for observation, were continually in his hands, After the example of the Portuguese discoverers, he attended to the motion of tides and currents, watched the flight of birds, the appearance of fishes, of sea-weeds, and of every thing that floated on the waves, and entered every occurrence, with a minute exactness, in the journal which he kept. As the length of the voyage could not fail of alarming sailors habituated only to short excursions, Columbus endeavoured to conceal from them the real progress which they made. With this view, though they ran 18 leagues the second day, after they left Gomera he gave out that they had advanced only 15, and he, uniformly, employed the same artifice of reckoning short, during the whole voyage. By the 4th of September, the fleet was above 200 leagues to the west of the Canary-Isles. There they were struck with an appearance, no less astonishing than new. They observed that the magnetic needle, in their compasses, did not point exactly to the polar star, but varied towards the west ; and as they proceeded, this variation increased. This appearance, which is now familiar, though it still remains one of the mysteries of nature, into the cause of which the sagacity of man hath not been able to penetrate, filled the companions of Columbus with terror. They were now in a boundless unknown, ocean, far from the usual course of navigation ; nature itself
seemed

seemed to be altered, and the only guide which they had left was about to fail them. Columbus, with no less quickness than ingenuity, invented a reason for this appearance, which, though it did not satisfy himself, seemed so plausible to them, that it dispelled their fears, or silenced their murmurs.

He still continued to steer due west, nearly in the same latitude with the Canary-Islands. In this course, he came within the sphere of the trade-wind, which blows, invariably, from east to west, between the tropics, and a few degrees beyond them. He advanced before this steady gale with such uniform rapidity, that it was seldom necessary to shift a sail. When about 400 leagues to the west of the Canaries, he found the sea so covered with weeds, that it resembled a meadow of vast extent; and in some places they were so thick, as to retard the motion of the vessels. This strange appearance occasioned new alarm and disquiet. The sailors imagined that they were now arrived at the utmost boundary of the navigable ocean: that these floating weeds would obstruct their farther progress, and concealed dangerous rocks, or some large tract of land, which had sunk, they knew not how, in that place. Columbus endeavoured to persuade them, that what had alarmed, ought rather to have encouraged them, and was to be considered as a sign of approaching land. At the same time, a brisk gale arose, and carried them forward. Several birds were seen hovering about the ship, and directed their flight towards the west. The desponding crew resumed some degree of spirit, and began to entertain fresh hopes.

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Upon the first of October they were, according to the admiral's reckoning, 770 leagues to the west of the Canaries; but, lest his men should be intimidated by the prodigious length of the navigation, he gave out that they had proceeded only 584 leagues; and, fortunately for Columbus, neither his own pilot, nor those of the other ships, had skill sufficient to correct this error, and to discover the deceit. They had, now, been above three weeks at sea; they had proceeded far beyond what former navigators had attempted, or deemed possible: all their prognostics of discovery, drawn from the flights of birds, and other circumstances, had proved fallacious; the appearance of land, with which their own credulity, or the artifice of their commander, had, from time to time, flattered and amused them, had been altogether illusive, and their prospect of success seemed now to be as distant as ever. These reflections occurred often to men, who had no other object, or occupation, than to reason and to discourse concerning the intention and circumstances of their expedition. They made impression, at first, upon the ignorant and timid, and extending, by degrees, to such as were better informed, or more resolute, the contagion spread, at length, from ship to ship. From secret whispers and murmurings, they proceeded to open cabals and public complaints. They taxed their sovereign with inconsiderate credulity, in paying such regard to the vain promises and rash conjectures of an indigent foreigner, as to hazard the lives of so many of her own subjects, in prosecuting a chimerical scheme. They affirmed that they had fully performed their duty, by ventur-

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ing so far in an unknown and hopeless course, and could incur no blame, for refusing to follow, any longer, a desperate adventurer to certain destruction. They contended, that it was necessary to think of returning to Spain, while their crazy vessels were still in a condition to keep the sea, but expressed their fears that the attempt would prove vain, as the wind, which had hitherto been so favourable to their course, must render it impossible to sail in the opposite direction. All agreed that Columbus should be compelled by force to adopt a measure on which their common safety depended. Some of the more audacious proposed, as the most expeditious and certain method for getting rid, at once, of his remonstrances, to throw him into the sea; being persuaded that, upon their return to Spain, the death of an unsuccessful projector would excite little concern, and be inquired into with no curiosity.

Columbus was fully sensible of his perilous situation. He had observed, with great uneasiness, the fatal operation of ignorance, and of fear, in producing disaffection among his crew; and saw that it was now ready to burst out into open mutiny. He retained, however, perfect presence of mind. He affected to seem ignorant of their machinations. Notwithstanding the agitation and solicitude of his own mind, he appeared with a cheerful countenance; like a man satisfied with the progress which he had made, and confident of success. Sometimes he employed all the arts of insinuation to soothe his men. Sometimes he endeavoured to work upon their ambition, or avarice, by magnificent descriptions of

the fame and wealth which they were about to acquire. On other occasions, he assumed a tone of authority, and threatened them with vengeance from their sovereign, if, by their dastardly behaviour, they should defeat this noble effort to promote the glory of God, and exalt the Spanish name, above that of every other nation. Even with seditious sailors, the words of a man, whom they had been accustomed to reverence, were weighty and persuasive; and not only restrained them from those violent excesses which they meditated, but prevailed with them to accompany their admiral for some time longer.

As they proceeded, the indications of approaching land seemed to be more certain, and excited hope in proportion. The birds began to appear in flocks making towards the south-west. Columbus in imitation of the Portuguese navigators, who had been guided in several of their discoveries by the motion of birds, altered his course from due west towards that quarter whither they pointed their flight. But after holding on for several days in this new direction without any better success than formerly, having seen no object for 30 days but the sea and the sky, the hopes of his companions subsided faster than they had risen; their fears revived with additional force; impatience, rage, and despair, appeared in every countenance. All sense of subordination was lost. The officers, who had hitherto concurred with Columbus in opinion, and supported his authority, now took part with the private men: they assembled tumultuously, on the deck, expostulated with their commander, mingled threats with their expostulations, and required

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ed him instantly to tack about, and to return to Europe. Columbus perceived that it would be of no avail to have recourse to any of his former arts, which having been tried so often had lost their effect ; and that it was impossible to rekindle any zeal for the success of the expedition among men in whose breasts fear had extinguished every generous sentiment. He saw that it was no less vain to think of employing either gentle or severe measures, to quell a mutiny so general and so violent. It was necessary on all these accounts, to soothe passions which he could no longer command, and to give way to a torrent too impetuous to be checked. He promised, solemnly, to his men, that he would comply with their request, provided they would accompany him, and obey his commands for three days longer ; and if, during that time, land were not discovered, he would then abandon the enterprise and direct his course towards Spain.

Enraged as the sailors were, and impatient to turn their faces again towards their native country, this proposition did not appear to them unreasonable. Nor did Columbus hazard much in confining himself to a term so short. The prefaces of discovering land were now so numerous and promising, that he deemed them infallible. For some days, the sounding line had reached the bottom, and the soil which it brought up indicated land to be at no great distance. The flocks of birds increased ; and were composed not only of sea-fowl, but of such land-birds as could not be supposed to fly far from the shore. The crew of the *Pinta* observed a cane floating which seemed to be newly cut, and likewise a
piece

piece of timber artificially carved. The sailors aboard the *Nigna* took up the branch of a tree, with red berries, perfectly fresh. The clouds around the setting sun assumed a new appearance; the air was more mild and warm; and, during night, the wind became unequal and variable. From all these symptoms, Columbus was so confident of being near land, that, on the evening of the 11th of October, after public prayers for success, he ordered the sails to be furled, and the ships to lie by, keeping strick watch, lest they should be driven ashore in the night. During this interval of suspense and expectation, no man shut his eyes, all kept upon deck, gazing intently towards that quarter where they expected to discover the land which had been so long the object of their wishes.

About two hours before midnight, Columbus standing on the forecastle, observed a light at a distance, and privately pointed it out to Pedro Gutierrez, a page of the queen's wardrobe Gutierrez perceived it; and calling to Salcedo, comptroller of the fleet, all three saw it in motion, as if it were carried from place to place. A little after midnight, the joyful sound of *Land! land!* was heard from the *Pinta*, which kept always a-head of the other ships. But having been so often deceived by fallacious appearances, every man was now become slow of belief; and waited, in all the anguish of uncertainty and impatience, for the return of day. As soon as morning dawned, all doubts and fears were dispelled. From each ship an island was seen about two leagues to the north, whose flat and verdant fields, well stored with wood, and watered with many rivulets

rivulets presented the aspect of a delightful country. The crew of the *Pinta* instantly began the *Te Deum*, as a hymn of thanksgiving to God; and were joined by those of the other ships, with tears of joy and transports of congratulation. This office of gratitude to heaven was followed by an act of justice to their commander. They threw themselves at the feet of Columbus, with feelings of self-condemnation mingled with reverence. They implored him to pardon their ignorance, incredulity, and insolence, which had created him so much unnecessary disquiet, and had so often obstructed the prosecution of his well-concerted plan; and passing, in the warmth of their admiration, from one extreme to another, they now pronounced the man whom they had so lately reviled, and threatened, to be a person inspired by heaven, with sagacity and fortune more than human, in order to accomplish a design so far beyond the ideas and conception of all former ages.

As soon as the sun arose, all their boats were manned and armed. They rowed towards the island with their colours displayed, with warlike music, and other martial pomp. As they approached the coast, they saw it covered with a multitude of people, whom the novelty of the spectacle had drawn together, whose attitudes and gestures expressed wonder and astonishment, at the strange objects which presented themselves to their view. Columbus was the first European who set foot in the New-World, which he had discovered. He landed in a rich dress, and with a naked sword in his hand. His men followed; and, kneeled down, they all kissed the ground
which

which they had so long desired to see. They, next, erected a crucifix ; and, prostrating themselves before it, returned thanks to God for conducting their voyage to such an happy issue.

The above was one of the Bahama-Islands ; to which he gave the name of *San Salvador*, and took possession of it in the name of their Catholic majesties. In this first voyage he discovered several other of the Lucayo, or Bahama-Islands, with those of Cuba and Hispaniola. The natives considered the Spaniards as divinities, and the discharge of the artillery as their thunder : they fell prostrate at the sound. The women, however, offered their favours, and courted the embraces of their new guests as men. Their husbands were not jealous of them ; and in the arms of those wantons the companions of Columbus are said, by some authors, to have caught that malady which directs its poison to the springs of life. In a second voyage, many new islands were discovered. In a third, he attained the great object of his ambition, by discovering the continent of America, near the mouth of the river Oronoko, on the first day of August 1498. His success produced a crowd of adventurers, who, led by an insatiable desire of riches, spread themselves over many of the West India Islands, and by unrestrained licentiousness, and the most atrocious acts of barbarity, speedily depopulated those fertile abodes of peace and innocence, which at their first discovery supported many millions of inhabitants.

Among these adventurers, the names of Cortez and Pizarro, with many others will be transmitted with execration to posterity, although accompanied

compained with the astonishing events of the conquests of Mexico and Peru; events, which even in this brief sketch merit particular notice.

CHAP. XII.

The Discovery and Conquest of Mexico.

MEXICO itself was first discovered, though imperfectly, by a Spaniard named *Nuñez de Balboa*; but in 1518, the conquest of it was undertaken by a celebrated adventurer named *Ferdinando Cortes*. It was not, however, without great difficulty that he got his expedition set on foot; being persecuted by the Spanish governors in the West-Indies, so that he was at last obliged to throw off his allegiance to them, and proceed without any commission. However, on the 10th of February, 1519, he set sail from the Havannah in Cuba; and soon landed on the island of Cozomel, on the coast of Yucatan, discovered the preceding year. Here he joined one of his officers, named *Pedro d'Alvaredo*, who had arrived some days before, and collected some booty, and taken a few prisoners. But the general severely censured his conduct; and the prisoners were dismissed after they had been informed by an Indian interpreter named *Melchior*, that such injuries were entirely disagreeable

greeable to the intentions and wishes of Cortes. Here he mustered his army, and found that it amounted to 508 soldiers, 16 horsemen, and 109 mechanics, pilots, and mariners. Having encouraged his men by a proper speech, and released, by means of some Indian ambassadors, a Spaniard named *Jerom de Aguilar*, who had been detained a prisoner for eight years, he proceeded to the river Tabasco, where he hoped to be received in a friendly manner, as one *Grijalva* had been a short time before; but from some unknown cause, he was violently attacked by them: however, the superiority of the Spanish arms soon decided the victory, and the inhabitants were obliged to own the king of Castile as their sovereign.

The Spaniards then continued their course westward, to the harbour of St. Juan de Ullua; where they were met by two Mexican canoes, who carried two ambassadors from the emperor of that country, and showed the greatest signs of peace and amity. Their language was unknown to Aguilar; but one of the female prisoners above mentioned understood it, and translated it into the Yucatan tongue; after which Aguilar interpreted the meaning in Spanish. This slave was afterwards named *Donna Marina*, and proved very useful in their conferences with the natives.

At this time the Mexican empire, according to Dr. Robertson, was arrived at a pitch of grandeur to which no society had ever attained in so short a period. Though it had subsisted only for 130 years, its dominion extended from the north to the south sea; over territories stretching
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about 500 leagues from east to west, and more than 200 from north to south; comprehending provinces not inferior in fertility, population, and opulence, to any in the torrid zone.—Though by nature Montezuma possessed a good deal of courage and resolution; yet from the first moment that the Spaniards appeared on his coast, he discovered symptoms of timidity and embarrassment, and all his subjects were embarrassed as well as himself. The general dismay which took place on this occasion was partly owing to the strange figure the Spaniards made, and the prodigious power of their arms; but partly also to the following circumstance. An opinion prevailed almost universally among the Americans, that some dreadful calamity impended over their heads, from a race of formidable invaders who should come from regions towards the rising sun, to over-run and desolate their country. As the Mexicans were more prone to superstition than any people in the new world, they were more deeply affected with the appearance of the Spaniards, whom they instantly supposed to be the instruments destined to bring about that fatal revolution which they dreaded; and this produced the embassy above mentioned.

By means of his two interpreters, Donna Marina and Aguilar, Cortes learned that the chiefs of the Mexican embassy were deputies from Pilpatoc and Teutile; the one governor of a province under the emperor, and the other the commander of all his forces in that province: the purport of their embassy was, to inquire what his intentions were in visiting their coasts, and

to offer him what assistance he might need in order to continue his voyage. Cortes, in his turn, also professed the greatest friendship; and informed the ambassadors, that he came to propose matters of the utmost consequence to the welfare of the prince and his kingdom; which he would more fully unfold in person to the governor and the general. Next morning, without waiting for any answer, he landed his troops, his horses, and his artillery; began to erect huts for his men, and to fortify his camp.—The natives instead of opposing the entrance of these fatal guests into their country, assisted them in all their operations with an alacrity which they had ere long reason to repent.

The next day the ambassadors had a formal audience; at which Cortes acquainted them, that he came from Don Carlos of Austria, king of Castile, the greatest monarch of the east, and was entrusted with propositions of such moment, that he would impart them to none but the emperor himself, and therefore required to be conducted immediately to the capital. This demand produced the greatest uneasiness; and the ambassadors did all in their power to dissuade Cortes from his design, endeavouring to conciliate his good-will by the presents sent him by Montezuma. These they introduced with great parade and consisted of fine cotton-cloth, of plumes of various colours, and of ornaments of gold and silver to a considerable value, the workmanship of which appeared to be as curious as the materials were rich. But these presents served only to excite the avidity of the Spaniards, and to increase

crease their desire for becoming masters of a country which abounded with so many precious commodities. Cortes indeed could scarcely restrain himself so far as to hear the arguments made use of by the ambassadors to dissuade him from going to the capital; and, in a haughty, determined tone, insisted on his former demand of being admitted to a personal interview with their sovereign.

During this conversation, some painters in the retinue of the Mexican chiefs had been diligently employed in delineating, upon white cotton clothes, figures of the ships, horses, artillery, soldiers, and whatever else attracted their eyes as singular. When Cortes observed this, and was informed that these pictures were to be sent to Montezuma, he resolved to render the representation still more striking and interesting. The trumpets, by his orders, sounded an alarm; the troops formed in order of battle, and showed their agility and strength in the best manner they could; while the artillery was pointed against the neighbouring trees, among which it made dreadful havock. The Indians for some time looked on with silent astonishment; but at the explosion of the cannon, some fled, others fell to the ground, and all were so confounded, that Cortes found it difficult to quiet and compose their minds.

When the painters had exerted their utmost efforts in representing all these wonderful things, messengers were immediately despatched to Montezuma with the pictures, and a full account of every thing that had passed since the arrival of the Spaniards, together with some European curiosities to Montezuma; which, though of no
great

great value, Cortes believed would be acceptable on account of their novelty. The Mexican monarchs, in order to obtain the earliest information of every occurrence in all parts of their empire, had couriers posted at proper stations along the principal roads; and as these were trained to agility by a regular education, they conveyed intelligence with surprising rapidity. Though the city in which Montezuma resided was above 180 miles from St. Juan de Ullua, Cortes' presents were carried thither, and an answer returned to his demands, in a few days. As the answer was unfavourable, Montezuma had endeavoured to mollify the Spanish general by the richness of his presents. These consisted of the manufactures of the country; cotton-stuffs so fine, and of such delicate texture, as to resemble silk; pictures of animals, trees, and other natural objects, formed with feathers of different colours, disposed and mingled with such skill and elegance as to rival the works of the pencil in truth and beauty of imitation. But what chiefly attracted their attention, were two large plates of a circular form; one of massive gold representing the sun, the other of silver representing the moon. These were accompanied with bracelets, collars, rings, and other trinkets of gold; and that nothing might be wanting which could give the Spaniards a complete idea of what the country afforded, some boxes filled with pearls, precious stones, and grains of gold unwrought, as they had been found in the mines or rivers, were sent along with the rest. Cortes received all with an appearance of the most profound respect for Montezuma; but when the Mexicans, pre-
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suming upon this, informed him, that their master, though he desired him to accept of what he had sent as a token of his regard for the prince whom he represented, would not give his consent that foreign troops should approach nearer to his capital, or even allow them to continue longer in his dominions, Cortes declared, in a manner more resolute and peremptory than formerly, that he must insist on his first demand; as he could not, without dishonour, return to his own sovereign until he was admitted into the presence of the prince whom he was appointed to visit in his name. The Mexicans were astonished at the sight of a man who dared to oppose the will of their emperor; but not being willing to come to an open rupture with such formidable enemies, with much ado they prevailed upon Cortes to promise that he would not move from his present camp until the return of a messenger whom they sent to Montezuma for further instructions.

The pusillanimity of the Indian monarch afforded time to the Spaniards to take measures which would have been out of their power had they been vigorously attacked on their first refusal to obey his orders. Cortes used every method of securing the affections of the soldiers; which indeed was very necessary, as many of them began to exclaim against the rashness of his attempt in leading them against the whole force of the Mexican empire. In a short time Teutile arrived with another present from Montezuma, and together with it delivered the ultimate orders of that monarch to depart instantly out of his dominions; and when Cortes, instead of com-

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plying with his demands, renewed his request, of audience, the Mexican immediately left the camp with strong marks of surprise and resentment. Next morning, none of the natives appeared; all friendly correspondence seemed to be at an end, and hostilities were expected to commence every moment. A sudden consternation ensued among the Spaniards, and a party was formed against him by the adherents of Velasques; who took advantage of the occasion, and deputed one of their number, a principal officer, to remonstrate, as if in name of the whole army, against his rashness, and to urge the necessity of his returning to Cuba. Cortes received the message without any appearance of emotion; and as he well knew the temper and wishes of his soldiery, and foresaw how they would receive a proposition so fatal to all the splendid hopes and schemes which they had been forming with such complacency, he pretended to comply with the request now made him, and issued orders that the army should be in readiness next day to embark for Cuba. Upon hearing this, the troops, as Cortes had expected, were quite outrageous: they positively refused to comply with these orders, and threatened immediately to choose another general if Cortes continued to insist on their departure.

Our adventurer was highly pleased with the disposition which now appeared among his troops: nevertheless, dissembling his sentiments, he declared, that his orders for embarking had proceeded from a persuasion that it was agreeable to his fellow-soldiers, to whose opinion he had sacrificed his own; but now he acknowledged his
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his error, and was ready to resume his original plan of operation. This speech was highly applauded ; and Cortes, without allowing his men time to cool, set about carrying his designs into execution. In order to give a beginning to a colony, he assembled the principal persons in his army, and by their suffrages elected a council and magistrates, in whom the government was to be vested. The persons chosen were most firmly attached to Cortes ; and the new settlement had the name of *Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz* : that is, the rich town of the true cross.

Before this court of his own making, Cortes did not hesitate at resigning all his authority, and was immediately re-elected chief-justice of the colony, and captain-general of his army, with an ample commission, in the king's name, to continue in force till the royal pleasure should be farther known. The soldiers eagerly ratified their choice by loud acclamations : and Cortes, now considering himself as no longer accountable to any subject, began to assume a much greater degree of dignity, and to exercise more extensive powers than he had done before. Some of the soldiers began to exclaim against the proceedings of the council as illegal ; but the ring-leaders were instantly sent on board the fleet loaded with irons. By this timely severity the rest were overawed ; and Cortes, knowing of how great importance unanimity was to his future success, soon found means to reconcile those who were most disaffected : to which purpose a liberal distribution of the Mexican gold, both among friends and foes, contributed not a little.

Cortes having thus strengthened himself as
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well as he could, resolved to advance into the country; and to this he was encouraged by the behaviour of the cacique or petty prince of Zempoalla, a considerable town at no great distance. This prince, though subject to Montezuma, was exceedingly impatient of the yoke; and so filled with dread and hatred of the emperor, that nothing could be more acceptable to him than an appearance of being delivered from that subjection; and a deliverance of this kind he now hoped from the Spaniards. For this reason, he sent ambassadors to Cortes, with offers of friendship, which were gladly accepted by him; and in consequence of the alliance, he very soon visited Zempoalla. Here he was received in the most friendly manner imaginable, and had a respect paid towards him almost equivalent to adoration. The cacique informed him of many particulars relating to the character of Montezuma.—He told him that he was a tyrant, haughty, cruel, and suspicious; who treated his own subjects with arrogance, ruined the conquered provinces by his extortions, and often tore their sons and daughters from them by violence; the former to be offered as victims to his gods, the latter to be reserved as concubines for himself and favourites. Cortes, in reply, artfully insinuated, that one great object of the Spaniards in visiting a country so remote from their own was, to redress grievances, and to relieve the oppressed; and having encouraged him to hope for this interposition in due time, continued his march to Quiabitan, the territory of another cacique, and where, by the friendly aid of the Indians, a Spanish colony was soon formed.

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During the residence of Cortes in these parts, he so far wrought on the minds of the caciques of Zempoalla and Quiabistan, that they ventured to insult the Mexican power, at the very name of which they had been formerly accustomed to tremble. Some of Montezuma's officers having appeared to levy the usual tribute, and to demand a certain number of human victims, as an expiation of their guilt in presuming to hold intercourse with those strangers whom the emperor had commanded to leave his dominions; instead of obeying his orders, they made them prisoners, treated them with great indignity, and, as their superstition was no less barbarous than Montezuma's, they threatened to sacrifice them to their gods. From this last danger, however, they were delivered by the interposition of Cortes, who manifested the utmost horror at the mention of such a deed. This act of rebellion firmly attached the two caciques to the interest of Cortes; and without hesitation they acknowledged themselves vassals of the king of Spain. Their example was followed by the Totonques, a fierce people who inhabited the mountainous parts of the country. They willingly subjected themselves to the crown of Castile; and offered to accompany Cortes with all their forces in his march towards Mexico.

Though Cortes had now taken such measures as in a manner ensured his success; yet as he had thrown off all dependence on the governor of Cuba, who was his lawful superior, and apprehended his interest at court, he thought proper, before he set out on his intended expedition, to take the most effectual measures against the
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impending danger. With this view, he persuaded the magistrates of his colony to address a letter to the king, containing a pompous account of their own services, of the country they had discovered, &c. and of the motives which had induced them to throw off their allegiance to the governor of Cuba, and to settle a colony dependent on the crown alone, in which the supreme power civil as well as military had been vested in Cortes: humbly requesting their sovereign to ratify what had been done, by his royal authority. Cortes himself wrote in a similar strain; but as he knew that the Spanish court, accustomed to the repeated exaggerations of American adventurers, would give little credit to the splendid accounts of New-Spain, if they were not accompanied with such a specimen of what it contained as would excite an high idea of its opulence, he solicited his soldiers to relinquish what they might claim as their part of the treasures which had hitherto been collected, in order that the whole might be sent to the king. Portocarrero and Montejo, the chief magistrates of the colony, were appointed to carry this present to Castile, with express orders not to touch at Cuba in their passage thither. But while a vessel was preparing for their departure. an unexpected event produced a general alarm. Some soldiers and sailors, secretly disaffected to Cortes, formed a design of seizing one of the brigantines, and making their escape to Cuba, in order to give such intelligence to the governor as might enable him to intercept the vessel which was to carry the treasure and the dispatches to Spain. This conspiracy was conducted with profound secrecy ;

cy ; but at the moment when every thing was ready for execution, the secret was discovered by one of the associates. The latent spirit of disaffection which Cortes was now too well convinced had not been extinguished amongst his troops, gave him very great uneasiness. The only method which he could think of to prevent such conspiracies for the future was, to destroy his fleet ; and thus deprive his soldiers of every resource except that of conquest : and with this proposal he persuaded his men to comply. With universal consent therefore the ships were drawn ashore, and, after being stripped of their sails, rigging, iron-work, and whatever else might be of use, they were broke in pieces.

Cortes having thus rendered it necessary for his troops to follow wherever he chose to lead, began his march to Zempoalla with 500 infantry, 15 horse, and six field-pieces. The rest of his troops, consisting chiefly of such as from age or infirmity were less fit for active service, he left as a garrison in Villa Rica, under the command of Escalante, an officer of merit, and warmly attached to his interest. The cacique of Zempoalla supplied him with provisions ; and with 200 of those Indians called *Tamames*, whose office, in a country where tame animals were unknown, was to carry burdens and perform all manner of servile labour. He offered likewise a considerable body of troops ; but Cortes was satisfied with 400 ; taking care, however, to choose persons of such note, that they might serve as hostages for the fidelity of their master.

Nothing memorable happened till the Spaniards arrived on the confines of the republic of Tlascala.

Tlascala. The inhabitants of that province were warlike, fierce, and revengeful, and had made considerable progress in agriculture and some other arts. They were implacable enemies to Montezuma; and therefore Cortes hoped that it would be an easy matter for him to procure their friendship. With this view, four Zempoallans of high rank were sent ambassadors to Tlascala, dressed with all the badges of that office usual among the Indians. The senate were divided in their opinions with regard to the proposals of Cortes: but at last Magiscatzin, one of the oldest senators, and a person of great authority, mentioned the tradition of their ancestors, and the revelations of their priests; that a race of invincible men, of divine origin, who had power over the elements, should come from the east to subdue their country. He compared the resemblance which the strangers bore to the persons figured in the tradition of Mexico, their dominion over the elements of fire, air, and water; he reminded the senate of their prodigies, omens, and signals, which had lately terrified the Mexicans, and indicated some very important event; and then declared his opinion, that it would be rashness to oppose a force apparently assisted by heaven, and men who had already proved, to the sad experience of those who opposed them, that they were invincible. This orator was opposed by Xicotencal, who endeavoured to prove that the Spaniards were at best but powerful magicians: that they had rendered themselves obnoxious to the gods by pulling down their images and altars, (which indeed Cortes had very imprudently done at Zempoalla; and of consequence,

quence, that they might easily be overcome, as the gods would not fail to resent such an outrage. he therefore voted for war, and advised the crushing of these invaders at one blow.

The advice of Xicotencal prevailed ; and in consequence of it, the ambassadors were detained ; which giving Cortes the alarm, he drew nearer the city of Tlascala. In this transaction we may easily see how little the Tlascalans, notwithstanding all their ferocity, were skilled in military affairs. They suffered Cortes, with his army drawn up in good order, to pass a strong wall between two mountains, which might have been very advantageously defended against him. He had not advanced far beyond this pass, however, before a party of Tlascalans with plumes were discovered, which denoted that an army was in the field. These he drove before him by a detachment of six horse, obliged them to join another party, and then reinforcing the advanced detachment, charged the enemy with such vigour that they began to retire. Five thousand Tlascalans, whom Xicotencal had placed in ambush, then rushed out of their hiding places, just as the infantry came up to assist their slender body of cavalry. The enemy attacked with the utmost fury ; but were so much disconcerted by the first discharge of the fire-arms, that they retreated in confusion, furnishing the Spaniards with an opportunity of pursuing them with great slaughter. Cortes, however, supposing that this could not be their whole force, advanced with the utmost caution, in order of battle, to an eminence, from whence he had a view of the main body of the Tlascalan army commanded by Xico-

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tencal, consisting of no fewer than 40,000 men. By these the small army of Cortes was entirely surrounded; which Xicotencal no sooner perceived, than he contracted the circle with incredible diligence, while the Spaniards were almost overwhelmed with showers of arrows, darts, and stones. It is impossible but in this case many of the Spaniards must have perished, had it not been for the insufficiency of the Indian weapons. Their arrows and spears were headed only with flint, or the bones of fishes; their stakes hardened in the fire, and wooden swords, though destructive weapons among naked Indians, were easily turned aside by the Spanish bucklers, and could hardly penetrate the quilted jackets which the soldiers wore. These circumstances gave the Spaniards a prodigious advantage over them: and therefore the Tlascalans, notwithstanding their valour and superiority in number, could accomplish no more in the present instance, than to kill one horse and slightly wound nine soldiers.

The Tlascalans being taught by this, and some subsequent encounters, how much they were inferior to the Spaniards, began to conceive them to be really what Magiscatzin had said: a superior order of beings, against whom human power could not prevail. In this extremity they had recourse to their priests, requiring them to reveal the causes of such extraordinary events, and to declare what means they should take to repel such formidable invaders. The priests, after many sacrifices and incantations, delivered their response, That these strangers were the offspring of the sun, procreated by his animating energy
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in the regions of the east ; that, by day, while cherished with the influence of his parental beams, they were invincible ; but by night, when his reviving heat was withdrawn, their vigour declined and faded like herbs in the field, and they dwindled down into mortal men. In consequence of this, the Tlascalans acted in contradiction to one of their most established maxims in war, and ventured to attack the enemy in the night-time, hoping to destroy them when in-feeble and surpris'd. But the Spanish centinels having observed some extraordinary movements among the Tlascalans, gave the alarm. Immediately the troops were under arms, and falling out, defeated their antagonists with great slaughter, without allowing them to approach the camp. By this disaster the Tlascalans were heartily dispos'd to peace; but they were at a loss to form an adequate idea of the enemies they had to deal with. They could not ascertain the nature of these surpris'ing beings, or whether they were really of a benevolent or malignant disposition. There were circumstances in their behaviour which seem'd to favour each opinion. On the one hand, as the Spaniards constantly dismissed their prisoners whom they took, not only without injury, but often with presents of European toys, and renew'd their offers of peace after every victory ; this lenity amaz'd people accus'tom'd to the exterminating system of war known in America, and who sacrific'd and devour'd without mercy all the captives taken in battle ; and dispos'd them to entertain sentiments favourable to their humanity. But, on the other hand, as Cortes had seiz'd 50 of their countrymen who
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brought provisions to their camp, and cut off their heads; this bloody spectacle, added to the terror occasioned by the fire-arms and horses, filled them with dreadful ideas of their ferocity. Accordingly they addressed them in the following manner: " If (said they) you are divinities of a cruel and savage nature, we present to you five slaves, that you may drink their blood and eat their flesh. If you are mild deities, accept an offering of incense and variegated plumes. If you are men, here is meat, bread, and fruit, to nourish you." After this address, the peace was soon concluded, to the great satisfaction of both parties. The Tlascalans yielded themselves as vassals to the crown of Castile, and engaged to assist Cortes in all his operations; while he took the republic under his protection, and promised to defend their persons and possessions from injury and violence.

This reconciliation took place at a very seasonable juncture for the Spaniards. They were not only worn out with incessant toil, but so destitute of necessaries, that they had no other salve to dress their wounds but what was composed of the fat of Indians whom they had slain. Their distresses, in short, were risen to such an height, that they had begun to murmur, and even to despair, insomuch that Cortes had much difficulty in restraining them within any kind of bounds; but the submission of the Tlascalans, and their own triumphant entry into the city, where they were received with the reverence due to a superior order of beings, banished at once all memory of past sufferings, dispelled every anxious thought, and fully convinced them that they
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could not be resisted by any power in America.

Cortes left no method untried to gain the favour and confidence of the Tlascalans; which, however, he had almost entirely lost, by his untimely zeal in destroying their idols, as he had done those of Zempoalla. But he was deterred from this rash action by his chaplain, father Bartholomew de Olmedo; and left the Tlascalans in the undisturbed exercise of their superstition, requiring only that they should desist from their horrid practice of offering human victims. As soon as his troops were fit for service, he resolved to continue his march towards Mexico, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Tlascalans, who looked upon his destruction as unavoidable if he put himself into the power of such a faithless prince as Montezuma. But the emperor, probably intimidated with the fame of his exploits, had resolved to admit his visit; and informed Cortes, that he had given orders for his friendly reception at Cholula, the next place of any consequence on the road to Mexico. In this, however, he was, by no means sincere. Cholula was looked upon by all the inhabitants of the empire as a very holy place; the sanctuary and chief seat of their gods, to which pilgrims resorted from every province, and a greater number of human victims were offered in its principal temple, than even in that of Mexico. Montezuma therefore, invited the Spaniards thither, either from some superstitious hopes that the gods would not suffer this sacred mansion to be defiled; or from a belief, that he himself might there find an opportunity of cutting them off with more certainty of success, when under the

immediate protection of his gods. Cortes, however, was received with much seeming cordiality; but 6000 Tlascalan troops, who accompanied him, were obliged to remain without the town, as the Cholulans refused to admit their ancient enemies within their precincts. Yet two of these by disguising themselves got into the city, and acquainted Cortes, that they observed the women and children belonging to the principal citizens, retiring every night in a great hurry, and that six children had been sacrificed in the great temple: a sign that some warlike enterprise was at hand. At the same time that Donna Marina, the interpreter, received information from an Indian woman of distinction, whose confidence she had gained, that the destruction of the Spaniards was concerted; that a body of the Mexican troops lay concealed near the town; that some of the streets were barricaded, in others deep pits or trenches were dug, and slightly covered over, as traps into which the horse might fall; that stones and missile weapons were collected on the tops of the temples, with which to overwhelm the infantry; that the fatal hour was already at hand, and their ruin unavoidable. Cortes, alarmed at this news, secretly arrested three of the chief priests, from whom he extorted a confession that confirmed the intelligence he had already received. As not a moment was to be lost, he instantly resolved to prevent his enemies, and to inflict on them such dreadful vengeance as might strike Montezuma and his subjects with terror. For this purpose the Spaniards and Zempoallans were drawn up in a large court, which had been allotted for their quarters,

ters, near the centre of the town; the Tlascalans had orders to advance; the magistrates and chief citizens were sent for under various pretexts, and seized. On a signal given, the troops rushed out, and fell upon the multitude, destitute of leaders, and so much astonished, that the weapons dropped from their hands, and they stood motionless, and incapable of defence. While the Spaniards attacked them in front, the Tlascalans did the same in the rear; the streets were filled with slaughter; the temples, which afforded a retreat to the priests, and some leading men, were set on fire, and they perished in the flames. This scene of horror continued two days, during which the wretched inhabitants suffered all that the destructive rage of the Spaniards, or the implacable revenge of their Indian allies, could inflict. At length the carnage ceased, after the slaughter of 6000 Cholulans, without the loss of a single Spaniard.—Cortes then released the magistrates; and reproaching them bitterly for their intended treachery, declared, that as justice was now appeased, he forgave the offence; but required them to recal the inhabitants who had fled, and re-establish order in the town. Such was the ascendant that the Spaniards had now obtained over this superstitious race, that this order was instantly complied with; and the city was in a few days again filled with people, who paid the most respectful service to those men whose hands were stained with the blood of their relations and fellow-citizens.

From Cholula, Cortes advanced directly towards Mexico; and throughout the whole of his journey, was entertained with accounts of
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the oppressions and cruelty of Montezuma. This gave him the greatest hope of accomplishing his design ; as he now perceived that the empire was entirely divided, and no sort of unanimity prevailed among them. No enemy appeared to check his progress. Montezuma was quite irrefolute ; and Cortes was almost at the gates of the capital before the emperor had determined whether to receive him as a friend, or oppose him as an enemy. But as no sign of open hostility appeared, the Spaniards, without regarding the fluctuations of Montezuma's sentiments, continued their march to Mexico, with great circumspection and the strictest discipline, though without seeming to suspect the prince whom they were about to visit.

When they drew near the city, about 1000 persons, who appeared to be of distinction, came forth to meet them, adorned with plumes, and clad in mantles of fine cotton. Each of these, in his order, passed by Cortes, and saluted him according to the mode deemed most respectful and submissive in their country. They announced the approach of Montezuma himself, and soon after his harbingers came in sight. There appeared first 200 persons in an uniform dress, with large plumes of feathers, alike in fashion, marching two and two, in deep silence, barefooted, with their eyes fixed on the ground. These were followed by a company of higher rank, in their most showy apparel ; in the midst of whom was Montezuma, in a chair or litter richly ornamented with gold, and feathers of various colours. Four of his principal favourites carried him on their shoulders, others supported a canopy

py of curious workmanship over his head. Before him marched three officers, with rods of gold in their hands, which they lifted up on high at certain intervals; and at that signal all the people bowed their heads, and hid their faces, as unworthy to look on so great a monarch.— When he drew near, Cortes dismounted, advancing towards him with officious haste, and in a respectful posture. At the same time Montezuma alighted from his chair, and leaning on the arms of two of his near relations, approached with a slow and stately pace, his attendants covering the streets with cotton cloths, that he might not touch the ground. Cortes accosted him with profound reverence, after the European fashion. He returned the salutation, according to the mode of his country, by touching the earth with his hand, and then kissing it. This ceremony, the customary expression of reverence from inferiors towards those who are above them in rank, appeared such amazing condescension in a proud monarch, who scarcely deigned to consider the rest of mankind as of the same species with himself, that all his subjects firmly believed those persons, before whom he humbled himself in this manner, to be something more than human. Accordingly, as they marched through the crowd, the Spaniards frequently, and with much satisfaction, heard themselves denominated *teules*, or *divinities*. Nothing material passed in this first interview. Montezuma conducted Cortes to the quarters which he had prepared for his reception; and immediately took leave of him, with a politeness not unworthy of a court more refined. “ You are now
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(says he), with your brothers, in your own house; refresh yourselves after your fatigue, and be happy until I return." The place allotted to the Spaniards for their lodging, was a house built by the father of Montezuma. It was surrounded by a stone wall, with towers at proper distances, which served for defence as well as for ornament; and its departments and courts were so large as to accommodate both the Spaniards and their Indian allies. The first care of Cortes was to take precautions for his security, by planting the artillery so as to command the different avenues which led to it, by appointing a large division of his troops to be always on guard, and by posting sentinels at proper stations, with injunctions to observe the same vigilant discipline as if they were within sight of an enemy's camp.

In the evening, Montezuma returned to visit his guests, with the same pomp as in their first interview; and brought presents of such value not only to Cortes, and to his officers, but even to the private men, as proved the liberality of the monarch to be suitable to the opulence of his kingdom. A long conference ensued, in which Cortes learned what was the opinion of Montezuma with respect to the Spaniards. It was an established tradition, he told him, among the Mexicans, that their ancestors came originally from a remote region, and conquered the provinces now subject to his dominion: that after they were settled there, the great captain who conducted this colony, returned to his own country, promising, that at some future period his descendants should visit them, assume the govern-
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ment, and reform their constitutions and laws ; that, from what he had heard and seen of Cortes and his followers, he was convinced that they were the very persons whose appearance the prophecies taught them to expect ; that accordingly, he had received them, not as strangers, but as relations of the same blood and parentage and desired that they might consider themselves as masters of his dominions ; for both himself and his subjects should be ready to comply with their will and even to prevent their wishes. Cortes made a reply in his usual style with respect to the dignity and power of his sovereign, and his intention in sending him into that country ; artfully endeavouring so to frame his discourse, that it might coincide as much as possible with the idea which Montezuma had formed concerning the origin of the Spaniards. Next morning, Cortes, and some of his principal attendants, were admitted to a public audience of the emperor. The three subsequent days were employed in viewing the city ; the appearance of which, so far superior in the order of its buildings and the number of its inhabitants to any place the Spaniards had beheld in America, and yet so little resembling the structure of an European city, filled them with surprise and admiration.

Mexico, *Tenochtitlan*, as it was anciently called by the natives, is situated in a large plain, environed by mountains of such height, that though within the torrid zone, the temperature of its climate is mild and healthful. All the moisture which descends from the high grounds, is collected in several lakes, the two largest of which,
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of about 90 miles in circuit, communicate with each other. The waters of the one are fresh, those of the others are brackish. On the banks of the latter, and on some small islands adjoining to them, the capital of Montezuma's empire was built.—The access to the city was by artificial causeways or streets, formed of stones and earth, about 30 feet in breadth. As the waters of the lake, during the rainy season, overflowed the flat country, these causeways were of considerable length. That of Tacuba, on the west, a mile and a half; that of Tezcucó, on the north-west three miles; that of Cuoyacan, towards the south six miles. On the east there was no causeway, and the city could be approached only by canoes. In each of these causeways were openings, at proper intervals, through which the waters flowed; and over these, beams of timber were laid, which being covered with earth, the causeway or street had every where an uniform appearance. As the approaches to the city were singular, its construction was remarkable. Not only the temples of their gods, but the houses belonging to the monarch, and to persons of distinction, were of such dimensions, that, in comparison with any other buildings, which had been discovered in America, they might be termed *magnificent*. The habitations of the common people were mean, resembling the huts of other Indians. But they were all placed in a regular manner, on the banks of the canals which passed through the city, in some of its districts, or on the sides of the streets which intersected it in other quarters. In several places were large openings or squares, one of which allotted for the great market,

ket, is said to have been so spacious, that 40,000 or 50,000 persons carried on traffic there. In this city, the pride of the New World, and the noblest monument of the industry and art of man, while unacquainted with the use of iron, and destitute of aid from any domestic animal, the Spaniards, who are most moderate in their computations, reckon that there were at least 60,000 inhabitants.

But how much soever the novelty of these objects might amuse or astonish the Spaniards, they felt the utmost solicitude with respect to their own situation.—From a concurrence of circumstances, no less unexpected than favourable to their progress, they had been allowed to penetrate into the heart of a powerful kingdom, and were now lodged in its capital, without having once met with open opposition from its monarch. The Tlascalans however, had earnestly dissuaded them from placing such confidence in Montezuma as to enter a city of such a peculiar situation as Mexico, where that prince would have them at mercy, shut up as it were in a snare, from which it was impossible to escape. They assured them that the Mexican priests had, in the name of the gods, counselled their sovereign to admit the strangers into the capital, that he might cut them off there at one blow with perfect security. The Spaniards now perceived, too plainly, that the apprehensions of their allies was not destitute of foundation; that, by breaking the bridges placed at certain intervals on the causeways, or by destroying part of the causeways themselves, their retreat would be rendered impracticable,
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and they must remain cooped up in the centre of a hostile city, surrounded by multitudes sufficient to overwhelm them, and without a possibility of receiving aid from their allies. Montezuma had, indeed, received them with distinguished respect. But ought they to reckon upon this as real, or to consider it as feigned? Even if it were sincere, could they promise on its continuance? Their safety depended upon the will of a monarch in whose attachment they had no reason to confide; and an order flowing from his caprice, or a word uttered by him in passion, might decide irrevocably concerning their fate.

These reflections, so obvious as to occur to the meanest foldier, did not escape the vigilant sagacity of their general. Before he set out from Cholula, Cortes had received advice from Villa Rica, that Quaalpopoca, one of the Mexican generals on the frontiers, having assembled an army in order to attack some of the people whom the Spaniards had encouraged to throw off the Mexican yoke, Escalante had marched out with part of the garrison to support his allies: that an engagement had ensued, in which, though the Spaniards were victorious, Escalante, with seven of his men, had been mortally wounded, his horse killed, and one Spaniard had been surrounded by the enemy, and taken alive; that the head of this unfortunate captive, after being carried in triumph to different cities, in order to convince the people, that their invaders were not immortal, had been sent to Mexico. Cortes, though alarmed with this intelligence, as an indication of Montezuma's hostile intentions, had continued his march. But as soon as he entered Mexico;

Mexico, he became sensible, that, from an excess of confidence in the superior valour and discipline of his troops, as well as from the disadvantage of having nothing to guide him in an unknown country, but the defective intelligence which he received from people with whom his mode of communication was very imperfect, he had pushed forward into a situation, where it was difficult to continue, and from which it was dangerous to retire. Disgrace, and perhaps ruin, was the certain consequences of attempting the latter. The success of his enterprise depended upon supporting the high opinion which the people of New-Spain had formed with respect to the irresistible power of his arms. Upon the first symptom of timidity on his part, their veneration would cease, and Montezuma, whom fear alone restrained at present, would let loose upon him the whole force of his empire. At the same time, he knew that the countenance of his own sovereign was to be obtained only by a series of victories; and that nothing but the merit of extraordinary success could screen his conduct from the censure of irregularity. From all these considerations, it was necessary to maintain his station, and to extricate himself out of the difficulties in which one bold step had involved him, by venturing upon another still bolder.—The situation was trying, but his mind was equal to it; and after revolving the matter with deep attention, he fixed upon a plan no less extraordinary than daring.—He determined to seize Montezuma in his palace, and carry him a prisoner to the Spanish quarters. From the superstitious veneration of the Mexicans for the person of their monarch,

monarch, as well as their implicit submission to his will, he hoped, by having Montezuma in his power, to acquire the supreme direction of their affairs; or at least, with such a sacred pledge in his hands, he made no doubt of being secure from any effort of their violence.

This he immediately proposed to his officers. The timid startled at a measure so audacious, and raised objections. The more intelligent and resolute, conscious that it was the only resource in which there appeared any prospect of safety, warmly approved of it, and brought over their companions so cordially to the same opinion, that it was agreed instantly to make the attempt. At his usual hour of visiting Montezuma, Cortes went to the palace, accompanied by Alvarado, Sandoval, Lugo, Velasquez de Leon, and Davila, five of his principal officers, and as many trusty foldiers. Thirty chosen men followed, not in a regular order, but sauntering at some distance, as if they had no object but curiosity; small parties were posted at proper intervals, in all the streets leading from the Spanish quarters to the court; and the remainder of his troops, with the Tlascalalan allies, were under arms, ready to sally out on the first alarm. Cortes and his attendants were admitted without suspicion; the Mexicans retiring, as usual, out of respect. He addressed the monarch in a tone very different from that which he had employed in former conferences; reproaching him bitterly as the author of the violent assault made upon the Spaniards by one of his officers, and demanding public reparation for the loss which he had sustained by the death of some of his companions, as well

well as for the insult offered to the great prince whose servants they were. Montezuma, confounded at this unexpected accusation, and changing colour, either from the consciousness of guilt, or from feeling the indignity with which he was treated, asserted his own innocence with great earnestness; and as a proof of it, gave orders instantly to bring Quelpopoca and his accomplices prisoners to Mexico. Cortes replied, with seeming complaisance, that a declaration so respectable left no doubt remaining in his own mind, but that something more was requisite to satisfy his followers, who would never be convinced that Montezuma did not harbour hostile intentions against them, unless, as an evidence of his confidence and attachment, he removed from his own palace, and took up his residence in the Spanish quarters, where he would be served and honoured as became a great monarch. The first mention of so strange a proposal, bereaved Montezuma of speech, and almost of motion. At length he haughtily answered, "That persons of his rank were not accustomed voluntarily to give up themselves as prisoners; and were he mean enough to do so, his subjects would not permit such an affront to be offered to their sovereign." Cortes, unwilling to employ force endeavoured alternately to soothe and intimidate him. The altercation became warm; and having continued above three hours, Velasquez de Leon, an impetuous and gallant young man, exclaimed with impatience, "Why waste more time in vain? Let us either seize him instantly, or stab him to the heart." The threatening voice
and

and fierce gestures with which these words were uttered, struck Montezuma. The Spaniards, he was sensible, had now proceeded so far, as left him no hope that they would recede. His own danger was imminent, the necessity unavoidable. He saw both ; and abandoning himself to his fate, complied with their request.

His officers were called. He communicated to them his resolution. Though astonished and afflicted, they presumed not to question the will of their master, but carried him in silent pomp, all bathed in tears, to the Spanish quarters. When it was known that the strangers were conveying away the emperor, the people broke out into the wildest transports of grief and rage, threatening the Spaniards with immediate destruction, as the punishment justly due to their impious audacity. But as soon as Montezuma appeared with a seeming gaiety of countenance, and waved his hand, the tumult was hushed ; and upon his declaring it to be of his own choice that he went to reside for some time among his new friends, the multitude, taught to revere every intimation of their sovereign's pleasure, quietly dispersed.

The Spaniards at first pretended to treat Montezuma with great respect ; but soon took care to let him know that he was entirely in their power. Cortes wished that the shedding the blood of a Spaniard, should appear the most heinous crime that could be committed ; and therefore not only took a most exemplary vengeance on those who had been concerned in the affair of Villa Rica, but even put the emperor himself in chains, till the execution of the Mexican general
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was over. By these and other insults, he at last gained entirely, the ascendant over this unhappy monarch; and he took care to improve his opportunity to the utmost. He sent his emissaries into different parts of the kingdom, accompanied with Mexicans of distinctions, who might serve both to guide and to protect them. They visited most of the provinces, viewed their soil and productions, surveyed with particular care the the districts which yielded gold or silver, pitched upon several places as proper for future colonies, and endeavoured to prepare the minds of the people for submitting to the Spanish yoke: and while they were thus employed, Cortes, in the name, and by the authority of Montezuma, degraded some of the principal officers in the empire, whose abilities or independent spirit excited his jealousy; and substituted in their place persons who he imagined would be more obsequious. One thing, however, was still wanting to complete his security. He wished to have such a command of the lake as might ensure a retreat, if, either from levity or disgust, the Mexicans should take arms against him, and break down the bridges or causeways, in order to enclose him in the city. In order to obtain this without giving disgust to the emperor or his court, Cortes artfully inflamed the curiosity of the Indians with accounts of the Spanish shipping, and those floating palaces that moved with such velocity on the water, without the assistance of oars; and when he found that the monarch himself was extremely desirous of seeing such a novelty, he gave him to understand, that nothing was wanting to his gratification, besides a few necessaries from Vera Cruz,

Cruz, for that he had workmen in his army capable of building such vessels. The barge took with Montezuma; and he gave immediate orders that all his people should assist Cortes in whatever he should direct concerning the shipping. By this means, in a few days, two brigantines were got ready, full-rigged and equipped; and Montezuma was invited on board, to make the first trial of their sailing, of which he could form no idea. Accordingly he embarked for this purpose, and gave orders for a great hunting upon the water, in order that all his people might be diverted with the novelty presented by the Spaniards. On the day appointed, the royal equipage was ready early in the morning; and the lake was covered with a multitude of boats and canoes loaded with people. The Mexicans had augmented the number of their rowers on board the royal barges, with an intention to disgrace the Spanish vessels, which they regarded as clumsy, unweildy, and heavy. But they were soon undeceived; a fresh gale started up, the brigantines hoisted sail, to the utter astonishment of all the spectators, and soon left all the canoes behind; while the monarch exulted in the victory of the Spaniards, without once considering that now he had effectually rivetted his own chains.

Cortes having obtained this important point; resolved to put the condescension of the emperor to a trial still more severe. He urged Montezuma to acknowledge himself a vassal to the crown of Castile; to hold his crown of him as superior, and to subject his dominions to the payment of an annual tribute. With this requisition, humiliating as it was, Montezuma complied. He
called

called together the chief men of his empire, and, in a solemn harangue, reminded them of the traditions and prophecies which led them to expect the arrival of a people sprung from the same stock with themselves, in order to take possession of the supreme power; he declared his belief that the Spaniards were this promised race; and that therefore he recognised the right of their monarch to govern the Mexican empire, would lay his crown at his feet, and obey him as a tributary. While uttering these words, Montezuma discovered how deeply he was affected in making such a sacrifice. Tears and groans frequently interrupted his discourse. The first mention of such a resolution struck the assembly dumb with astonishment. This was followed by a sullen murmur of sorrow mingled with indignation; which indicated some violent eruption of rage to be near at hand. This Cortes foresaw, and seasonably interposed to prevent it, by declaring that his master had no intention to deprive Montezuma of the royal dignity, or to make any innovation upon the constitution and laws of the Mexican empire. This assurance, added to their dread of the Spanish arms, and the authority of their monarch's example, extorted the consent of the assembly; and the act of submission and homage was executed with all the formalities which the Spaniards pleased to prescribe.

Montezuma, at the request of Cortes, accompanied this profession of fealty and homage with a magnificent present to his new sovereign; and, after his example, his subjects brought in very liberal contributions. The Spaniards then collected

lected all the treasure which had been either voluntarily bestowed upon them at different times by Montezuma, or had been extorted from his people under various pretences ; and having melted the gold and silver, the value of these, without including jewels and ornaments of various kinds, which were preserved on account of their curious workmanship, amounted to 600,000 pesos. The soldiers were impatient to have it divided ; and Cortes complied with their desire. A fifth of the whole was set apart as a tax due to the king. Another fifth was allowed to Cortes as commander. The sums advanced by the governor of Cuba, who had originally fitted out the expedition, were then deducted. The remainder was then divided among the army, including the garrison of Vera Cruz, in proportion to their different ranks ; and after so many deductions, the share of a private man did not exceed 100 pesos. This sum fell so far below their sanguine expectations, that it required all the address, and no small exertions of the liberality of Cortes, to prevent an open mutiny. However, he at last restored tranquillity ; but had no sooner escaped this danger, than he involved himself, by his imprudent zeal for religion, in one much worse. Montezuma, though often importuned, had obstinately refused to change his religion, or abolish the superstitious rites which had been for such a long time practised throughout his dominions. This at last transported the Spaniards with such rage, that, in a fally of zeal, he led out his soldiers in order to throw down the idols in the great temple by force. But the priests taking arms in defence of their altars, and the people

ple crowding with great ardour to support them. Cortes' prudence over-ruled his zeal, and induced him to desist from his rash attempt, after dislodging the idols from one of the shrines, and placing in their stead an image of the Virgin Mary.

From this moment the Mexicans began to meditate the expulsion or destruction of the Spaniards. The priests and leading men held frequent meetings with Montezuma for this purpose. But as any violent attempt might have proved fatal to the captive monarch, it was thought proper first to try more gentle means. Having called Cortes into his presence, he observed, that now, as all the purposes of his embassy were fully accomplished, the gods had declared their will, and the people signified their desire, that he and his followers should instantly depart out of the empire. With this he required them to comply, or unavoidable destruction would fall suddenly on their heads. This unexpected requisition, as well as the manner in which it was delivered, alarmed Cortes. However, he supposed that more might be gained by a feigned compliance than by open resistance; and therefore replied with great composure, that he had already begun to prepare for his return; but as he had destroyed the vessels in which he arrived, some time was requisite for building other ships. This appeared reasonable; and a number of Mexicans were sent to Vera Cruz to cut down timber, and some Spanish carpenters were appointed to superintend the work.

Cortes flattered himself, that, during this interval, he might either find means to avert the threatened

threatened danger, or receive such reinforcements as would enable him to defend himself. Nine months had now elapsed since Portocarrero and Montejo had failed with his despatches to Spain ; and he daily expected a return with a confirmation of his authority from the king, without which all that he had done served only to mark him out as an object of punishment. While he remained in great anxiety on this account, news were brought that some ships had appeared on the coast. These were imagined by Cortes to be a reinforcement sent him from Spain : but his joy was of short continuance, for a courier very soon arrived from Vera Cruz, with certain information that the armament was fitted out by Velasquez, the governor of Cuba ; and instead of bringing succours, threatened them with immediate destruction.

Velasquez had been excited to this hostile measure chiefly through the indiscretion, or rather treachery, of the messengers of Cortes ; who, contrary to his express injunctions, had landed on the island of Cuba, and given intelligence of all that had passed : and Velasquez, transported with rage at hearing of the proceedings of Cortes, had now sent against him this armament ; consisting of 18 ships, which carried 80 horsemen, 800 infantry, of which 80 were musketeers, and 120 cross-bowmen, commanded by a brave officer named *Pamphilo de Narvaez* ; whose instructions were, to seize Cortes and his principal officers, to send them prisoners to him, and then to complete the discovery and conquest of the country in his name. This proved a most afflicting piece of news to Cortes. However, thinking

thinking it imprudent to attempt any thing against his countrymen at first by force, he sent his chaplain Olmedo with proposals of accommodation. Narvaez rejected his proposals with scorn ; but his followers were less violent in their resentments. Olmedo delivered many letters to them, either from Cortes himself, or from his officers their ancient friends and companions. These Cortes had artfully accompanied with presents of rings, chains of gold, and other trinkets of value ; which inspired those needy adventurers with high ideas of the wealth he had acquired, and with envy of the good fortune of those who were engaged in his service. Some, from hopes of becoming sharers in these rich spoils, declared for an immediate accommodation ; while others were for the same pacific measure, through fear of subverting the Spanish power entirely in a country where it was so imperfectly established Narvaez disregarded both ; and, by a proclamation, denounced Cortes and his adherents rebels, and enemies to their country.

Cortes having now no resource but in war, left 150 men under the command of Pedro de Alvarado, an officer of great bravery, and much respected by the Mexicans, to guard the capital and the captive emperor ; while he himself marched with the remainder, to meet his formidable opponent, who had taken possession of Zempoalla. Even after being reinforced by Sandoval his governor of Vera Cruz, the force of Cortes did not exceed 250 men. He hoped for success chiefly from the rapidity of his motions and the possibility of surprising his enemies ; and

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as he chiefly dreaded their cavalry, he armed his soldiers with long spears, accustoming them to that deep and compact arrangement which the use of this formidable weapon enabled them to assume. As he advanced, however, he repeated his proposals of accommodation; but these being constantly rejected, and a price set upon his head, he at last attacked Narvaez in the night-time, entirely defeated and took him prisoner, obliging all his troops to own allegiance to himself.

Nothing could be more seasonable than this victory, by which Cortes found his army very considerably increased; for most of the soldiers of Narvaez chose rather to follow Cortes than to return to Cuba, whither the conqueror had offered to send them if they chose. His affairs at Mexico, in the mean time, were in the utmost danger of being totally ruined; and had this decisive victory been delayed but a few days longer, he must have come too late to save his companions. A short time after the defeat of Narvaez, a courier arrived from Mexico with the disagreeable intelligence that the Mexicans had taken arms; and having seized and destroyed the two brigantines which he had built in order to secure the command of the lake, had attacked the Spaniards in their quarters, killed some, and wounded many more, burnt their magazine of provisions, and, in short, carried on hostilities with such fury, that though Alvarado and his men defended themselves with undaunted resolution, they must either be cut off by famine, or sink under the multitude of their enemies. This revolt was excited by motives which rendered it still more alarming. On the departure

ture of Cortes for Zempoalla, the Mexicans flattered themselves, that the long-expected opportunity of restoring their sovereign to liberty, and driving out the Spaniards, was arrived; and consultations were accordingly held for bringing about both these events. The Spaniards in Mexico conscious of their own weakness, suspected and dreaded these machinations; but Alvarado, who had neither the prudence nor the address of Cortes, took the worst method imaginable to overcome them. Instead of attempting to soothe or cajole the Mexicans, he waited the return of one of their solemn festivals, when the principal persons in the empire were dancing, according to custom, in the court of the great temple; he seized all the avenues which led to it; and, allured partly by the rich ornaments which they wore in honour of their gods, and partly by the facility of cutting off at once the authors of that conspiracy which he dreaded, he fell upon them, unarmed and unsuspecting of danger, and massacred a great number; none escaping but such as made their way over the battlements of the temple. An action so cruel and treacherous filled not only the city, but the whole empire, with indignation and rage; and the Mexicans immediately proceeded in the manner above mentioned.

Cortes advanced with the utmost celerity to the relief of his distressed companions; but as he passed along, had the mortification to find that the Spaniards were generally held in abhorrence. The principal inhabitants had deserted the towns through which he passed; no person of note appeared to meet him with the usual respect;

spect ; nor were provisions brought to his camp as usual. Notwithstanding these signs of aversion and horror, however, the Mexicans were so ignorant of the military art, that they again permitted him to enter the capital without opposition ; though it was in their power to have easily prevented him, by breaking down the bridges and causeways which led to it.

Cortes was received by his companions with the utmost joy ; and this extraordinary success so far intoxicated the general himself, that he not only neglected to visit Montezuma, but expressed himself very contemptuously concerning him. These expressions being reported among the Mexicans, they all at once flew to arms, and made such a violent and sudden attack, that all the valour and skill of Cortes were scarce sufficient to repel them. This produced great uneasiness among the soldiers of Narvaez, who had imagined there was nothing to do but to gather the spoils of a conquered country. Discontent and murmurings, however, were now of no avail ; they were inclosed in a hostile city, and, without some extraordinary exertions, were inevitably undone. Cortes therefore, made a desperate sally ; but, after exerting his utmost efforts, for a whole day, was obliged to retire with the loss of 12 killed, and upwards of 60 wounded. Another sally was attempted with the like bad success, and in it Cortes himself was wounded in the hand.

The Spanish general was now thoroughly convinced of his error ; and therefore betook himself to the only resource which was left ; namely, to try what effect the interposition of Montezuma

ma would have to soothe or overawe his subjects. When the Mexicans approached the next morning to renew the assault, that unfortunate prince, at the mercy of the Spaniards and reduced to the sad necessity of becoming the instrument of his own disgrace, and of the slavery of his people, advanced to the battlements in his royal robes, and with all the pomp in which he used to appear on solemn occasions. At the sight of their sovereign, whom they had been long accustomed to reverence almost as a god, the Mexicans instantly forebore their hostilities, and many prostrated themselves on the ground: but when he addressed them in favour of the Spaniards, and made use of all the arguments he could think of to mitigate their rage, they testified their resentment with loud murmurings; and at length broke forth with such fury, that before the soldiers, appointed to guard Montezuma, had time to cover him with their shields, he was wounded with two arrows, and a blow on his temple with a stone struck him to the ground. On seeing him fall, the Mexicans instantly fled with the utmost precipitation: but the unhappy monarch, now convinced that he was become an object of contempt even to his own subjects, obstinately refused all nourishment; and thus in a short time ended his days.

On the death of Montezuma, Cortes having lost all hope of bringing the Mexicans to any terms of peace prepared for retreat. But his antagonists, having taken possession of a high tower in the great temple, which overlooked the Spanish quarters, and placing there a garrison of their principal warriors, the Spaniards were so

much exposed to their missile weapons that none could stir without danger of being killed or wounded. From this post, therefore, it was necessary to dislodge them at any rate; and Juan de Escobar, with a large detachment of chosen soldiers, was ordered to make the attack. But Escobar, though a valiant officer, and though he exerted his utmost efforts, was thrice repulsed. Cortes, however, sensible that not only his reputation, but the safety of his army, depended on the success of this assault, caused a buckler to be tied to his arm, as he could not manage it with his wounded hand, and rushed with his drawn sword among the thickest of the combatants. Encouraged by the presence of their general, the Spaniards returned to the charge with such vigour, that they gradually forced their way up the steps, and drove the Mexicans to the platform at the top of the tower. There a dreadful carnage began; when two young Mexicans of high rank, observing Cortes, as he animated his soldiers, resolved to sacrifice their own lives in order to cut off the author of so many calamities which desolated their country. They approached him in a suppliant posture, as if they intended to lay down their arms; and seizing him in a moment, hurried him towards the battlements, over which they threw themselves headlong, in hopes of dragging him along with them. But Cortes, by his strength and agility, disengaged himself from their grasp; so that the two Mexicans perished alone.

As soon as the Spaniards became masters of the tower, they set fire to it, and without further molestation continued the preparations for
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their retreat. This became the more necessary, as their enemies, astonished at this last effort of their valour, had now entirely changed their system of hostility; and, instead of incessant attacks, endeavoured by barricading the streets, and breaking down the causeways, to cut off the communication of the Spaniards with the continent, and thus to starve an enemy whom they could not subdue. The first point to be determined was, whether they should march out openly in the face of day, when they could discern every danger, or whether they should endeavour to retire secretly in the night. The latter was preferred, partly from hopes that the superstition of the Mexicans would prevent them from attacking them in the night, and partly from their own superstition in giving credit to the predictions of a private soldier, who pretended to astrology, and assured them of success if they retreated in this manner. Towards midnight, therefore, they began their march, in three divisions. Sandoval led the van; Pedro Alvarado and Velasquez de Leon had the conduct of the rear; and Cortes commanded in the centre, where he placed the prisoners, among whom were a son and two daughters of Montezuma, together with several Mexicans of distinction; the artillery, baggage, and a portable bridge of timber intended to be laid over the breaches in the causeway. They marched in profound silence along the causeway which led to Tacuba, because it was shorter than any of the rest, and, lying most remote from the road towards Tlascala and the sea-coast, had been left most entire by the Mexicans.

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They reached the first breach in the causeway without molestation, hoping that their retreat was undiscovered. But the Mexicans had not only watched all their motions, but made preparations for a most formidable attack. While the Spaniards were intent upon placing their bridges in the breach, and occupied in conducting their horses and artillery along it, they were suddenly alarmed with the sound of warlike instruments, and found themselves assaulted on all sides by an innumerable multitude of enemies. Unfortunately the wooden bridge was wedged so fast in the mud by the weight of the artillery, that it was impossible to remove it. Dismayed at this accident, the Spaniards advanced with precipitation to the second breach. The Mexicans hemmed them in on every side; and though they defended themselves with their usual courage, yet, crowded as they were in a narrow causeway, their discipline and military skill were of little avail; nor did the obscurity of the night allow them to derive much advantage from their firearms or the superiority of their other weapons. At last the Spaniards, overborne with the numbers of their enemies, began to give way, and in a moment the confusion was universal. Cortes, with about 100 foot-soldiers, and a few horse, forced his way over the two remaining breaches in the causeway, the bodies of the dead serving to fill up the chasms, and reached the main land. Having formed them as soon as they arrived, he returned with such as were yet capable of service, to assist his friends in their retreat. He met with a part of his soldiers who had forced their way through the enemy, but found many more

more overwhelmed by the multitude of their aggressors, or perishing in the lake; and heard the grievous lamentations of others whom the Mexicans were carrying off in triumph to be sacrificed to the god of war.

In this fatal retreat more than one half of Cortes's army perished, together with many officers of distinction. All the artillery, ammunition, and baggage, were lost; the greater part of the horses and above 2000 Tlascalans were killed, and only a very small part of their treasure saved. The first care of the Spanish general was to find some shelter for his wearied troops; for, as the Mexicans infested them on every side, and the people of Tacuba began to take arms, he could not continue in his present station. At last he discovered a temple seated on an eminence, in which he found not only the shelter he wanted, but some provisions; and though the enemy did not intermit their attacks throughout the day, they were without much difficulty prevented from making any impression. For six days after, they continued their march through a barren, ill cultivated, and thinly peopled country, where they were often obliged to feed on berries, roots, and the stalks of green maize; at the same time they were harassed without intermission by large parties of Mexicans, who attacked them on all sides. On the sixth day they reached Otumba, not far from the road between Mexico and Tlascalala. Early next morning they began to advance towards it, flying parties of the enemy still hanging on their rear; and amidst the insults with which they accompanied their hostilities, Donna Marina remarked, that they often exclaimed
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with exultation, "Go on, robbers; go to the place where you shall quickly meet the vengeance due to your crimes." The meaning of this threat the Spaniards did not comprehend, until they reached the summit of an eminence before them. There a spacious valley opened to their view, covered with a vast army as far as the eye could reach. The Mexicans, while with one body of their troops they harassed the Spaniards in their retreat, had assembled their principal force on the other side of the lake; and marching along the road which led directly to Tlascala, posted it in the plain of Otumba, through which they knew Cortes must pass. At the sight of this incredible multitude, which they could survey at once from the rising ground, the Spaniards were astonished, and even the boldest began to despair. But Cortes, without allowing their fears time to operate, after warning them briefly that no alternative remained but to conquer or die, led them instantly to the charge. The Mexicans waited their approach with unusual fortitude: yet such was the superiority of the Spanish discipline and arms, that the impression of this small body was irresistible; and which ever way its force was directed, it penetrated and dispersed the most numerous battalions. But while these gave way in one quarter, new combatants advanced from another; and the Spaniards, though successful in every attack, were ready to sink under these repeated efforts, without seeing any end to their toil, or any hope of victory. At that time Cortes observed the great standard of the empire, which was carried before the Mexican general, advancing; and fortunately recollecting

lecting to have heard, that on the fate of it depended the event of every battle, he assembled a few of his bravest officers, whose horses were still capable of service, and, placing himself at their head, pushed towards the standard with such impetuosity that he bore down every thing before him. A chosen body of nobles, who guarded the standard, made some resistance, but were soon broken. Cortes, with a stroke of his lance, wounded the Mexican general, and threw him to the ground. One of his followers alighting, put an end to his life, and laid hold of the imperial standard. The moment that their leader fell, and the standard, towards which all directed their eyes, disappeared, an universal panic struck the Mexicans; and, as if the bond which held them together had been dissolved, every ensign was lowered, each soldier threw away his weapons, and fled with precipitation to the mountains. The Spaniards, unable to pursue them far, returned to collect the spoils of the field; and these were so valuable as to be some compensation for the wealth which they had lost in Mexico; for in the enemy's army were most of their principal warriors dressed out in their richest ornaments, as if they had been marching to assured victory.

The day after this important action (being July 8th 1520), the Spaniards entered the Tlascalcan territories, where they were received with the most cordial friendship. Cortes endeavoured to avail himself of this disposition as much as possible; for which purpose he distributed among them the rich spoils taken at Otumba with such a liberal hand, that he made himself sure of obtaining

taining from the republic whatever he should desire. He drew a small supply of amunition, and two or three field-pieces from his stores at Vera Cruz. He dispatched an officer of confidence with four ships of Narvaez's fleet to Hispaniola and Jamaica, to engage adventurers, and to purchase horses, gunpowder, and other military stores. And as he knew that it would be in vain to attempt the reduction of Mexico, unless he could secure the command of the lake, he gave orders to prepare, in the mountains of Tlascala, materials for building 12 brigantines, so that they might be carried thither in pieces, ready to be put together, and launched when he stood in need of their service. But, in the mean time, his soldiers, alarmed at the thoughts of being exposed to such calamities a second time, presented a remonstrance to their general, in which they represented the imprudence of attacking a powerful empire with his shattered forces, and formally required him to return back to Cuba. All the eloquence of Cortes could now only prevail with them to delay their departure for some time, when he promised to dismiss such as should desire it. However, this was only a pretence; for Cortes, in fact, had the conquest of Mexico as much at heart as ever. Without giving his soldiers an opportunity of caballing, therefore, he daily employed them against the people of the neighbouring provinces, who had cut off some detachments of Spaniards during his misfortunes at Mexico; and by which as he was constantly attended with success, his men soon resumed their wonted sense of superiority.

But

But all the efforts of Cortes could have been of little avail, had he not unexpectedly obtained a reinforcement of Spanish soldiers. The governor of Cuba, to whom the success of Narvaez appeared an event of infallible certainty, having sent two small ships after him with new instructions, and a supply of men and military stores, the officer whom Cortes had appointed to command on the coast artfully decoyed them into the harbour of Vera Cruz, seized the vessels, and easily persuaded the soldiers to follow the standard of a more able leader than him whom they were destined to join. Soon after, three ships of more considerable force came into the harbour separately. These belonged to an armament fitted out by Francisco de Garay, governor of Jamaica, who had long aimed at dividing with Cortes the glory and gain of annexing the empire of Mexico to the crown of Castile. They had, however, unadvisedly made their attempt on the northern provinces, where the country was poor, and the inhabitants fierce and warlike ; so that, after a succession of disasters, they were now obliged to venture into Vera Cruz, and cast themselves upon the mercy of their countrymen ; and here they also were soon persuaded to throw off their allegiance to their master, and to enlist with Cortes. About the same time a ship arrived from Spain, freighted by some private adventurers, with military stores ; and the cargo was eagerly purchased by Cortes, while the crew following the example of the rest, joined him at Tlascala.

From these various quarters, the army of Cortes was augmented with 180 men and 20 horses ;

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by which means he was enabled to dismiss such of the soldiers of Narvaez as were most troublesome and discontented ; after the departure of whom he still mustered 550 infantry, of whom 80 men were armed with muskets or cross-bows, 40 horsemen, and nine pieces of artillery. At the head of these, with 10,000 Tlascalans and other friendly Indians, he began his march towards Mexico, on the 28th of December, six months after his fatal retreat from that city.

The Mexicans, in the mean time, had made the best preparations they could for opposing such a formidable enemy. On the death of Montezuma, his brother Quetlavaca was raised to the throne ; and he had an immediate opportunity of showing that he was worthy of their choice, by conducting in person those fierce attacks which obliged the Spaniards to retire from his capital. His prudence in guarding against the return of the invaders was equal to the spirit he had shown in driving them out. He repaired what the Spaniards had ruined in the city, strengthened it with such fortifications as his people could erect ; and besides filling his magazines with the usual implements of war, gave directions to make long spears, headed with the swords and daggers which they had taken from the Spaniards, in order to annoy the cavalry. But in the midst of these preparations he was taken off by the small-pox ; and Guatimozin, his nephew and son-in-law, raised to the throne.

As soon as Cortes entered the enemy's territories, he discovered various preparations to obstruct his progress. But his troops forced their way with little difficulty ; and took possession of
Tezcuco,

Tezcucó, the second city of the empire, situated on the banks of the lake, about 20 miles from Mexico. Here he determined to establish his head quarters, as the most proper station for launching his brigantines, as well as for making his approaches to the capital. In order to render his residence there more secure, he deposed the cazique or chief, who was at the head of that community under pretence of some defect in his title, and substituted in his place a person whom a faction of the nobles pointed out as the right heir of that dignity. Attached to him by this benefit, the new cazique and his adherents served the Spaniards with inviolable fidelity.

As the construction of the brigantines advanced slowly under the unskilful hands of soldiers and Indians, whom Cortes was obliged to employ in assisting three or four carpenters who happened fortunately to be in his service, and as he had not yet received the reinforcement which he expected from Hispaniola, he was not in a condition to turn his arms directly against the capital. To have attacked a city so populous, so well prepared for defence, and in a situation of such peculiar strength, must have exposed his troops to inevitable destruction. Three months elapsed before the materials for constructing the brigantines were finished, and before he heard any thing with respect to the success of his negotiation in Hispaniola. This, however, was not a season of inaction to Cortes. He attacked successively several of the towns situated around the lake; and though all the Mexican power was exerted to obstruct his operations, he either compelled them to submit to the Spanish crown, or reduced

reduced them to ruins. Other towns he endeavoured to conciliate by more gentle means ; and though he could not hold any intercourse with the inhabitants but by the intervention of interpreters, yet, under all the disadvantage of that tedious and imperfect mode of communication, he had acquired such thorough knowledge of the state of the country, as well as of the dispositions of the people, that he conducted his negotiations and intrigues with astonishing dexterity and success. Most of the cities adjacent to Mexico were originally the capitals of small independent states ; and some of them having been but lately annexed to the Mexican empire, still retained the remembrance of their ancient liberty, and bore with impatience the rigorous yoke of their new masters. Cortes having early observed symptoms of their disaffection, availed himself of this knowledge to gain their confidence and friendship. By offering with confidence to deliver them from the odious dominion of the Mexicans, and by liberal promises of more indulgent treatment if they would unite with him against their oppressors, he prevailed on the people of several considerable districts, not only to acknowledge the king of Castile as their sovereign, but to supply the Spanish camp with provisions, and to strengthen his army with auxiliary troops. Guatimozin, on the first appearance of defection among his subjects, exerted himself with vigour to prevent or to punish their revolt ; but, in spite of his efforts, the spirit continued to spread. The Spaniards gradually acquired new allies ; and with deep concern he beheld Cortes arming against his empire those very hands which ought
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to have been active in his defence, and ready to advance against the capital at the head of a numerous body of his own subjects.

While, by these various methods, Cortes was gradually circumscribing the Mexican power within such narrow limits that his prospect of overturning it seemed neither to be uncertain nor remote, all his schemes were well nigh defeated by a conspiracy against his own person, and which was discovered only a short time before it was to have been executed. Though many were concerned, Cortes did not think proper to punish any more than the principal ringleader, whom he caused immediately to be hanged; and then, without allowing them leisure to ruminate on what had happened, and as the most effectual means of preventing the return of a mutinous spirit, he determined to call forth his troops immediately to action. Fortunately a proper occasion for this occurred, without his seeming to court it. He received intelligence, that the materials for building the brigantines were at length completely finished, and waited only for a body of Spaniards to conduct them to Tezcucó. The command of this convoy, consisting of 200 foot-soldiers, 15 horsemen, and 2 field-pieces, he gave to Sandoval, who by the vigilance, activity, and courage, which he manifested on every occasion, was growing daily in his confidence, and in the estimation of his fellow-soldiers. The service was no less singular than important; the beams, the planks, the masts, the cordage, the sails, the iron-work, and all the infinite variety of articles requisite for the construction of 13
brigantines

brigantines were to be carried 60 miles over land, through a mountainous country, by people who were unacquainted with the ministry of domestic animals, or the aid of machines to facilitate any work of labour. The Tlascalans furnished 8000 *Tamenes*, an inferior order of men destined for servile tasks, to carry the materials on their shoulders, and appointed 15,000 warriors to accompany and defend them. Sandoval made the disposition for their progress with great propriety, placing the *Tamenes* in the centre, one body of warriors in the front, another in the rear, with considerable parties to cover the flanks. To each of these he joined some Spaniards, not only to assist them in danger, but to accustom them to regularity and subordination. Parties of Mexicans frequently appeared hovering around them on the high grounds: but perceiving no prospect of success in attacking an enemy continually on his guard, and prepared to receive them, they did not venture to molest him; and Sandoval had the glory of conducting safely to Tezcuco a convoy on which all the future operations of his countrymen depended.

This was followed by another event of no less moment. Four ships arrived at Vera Cruz from Hispaniola, with 200 soldiers, 80 horses, two battering cannon, and a considerable supply of ammunition and arms. Elevated with observing that all his preparatory schemes, either for recruiting his own army or impairing the force of the enemy, had now produced their full effect, Cortes, impatient to begin the siege in form, hastened the launching of the brigantines. To facilitate this, he had employed a vast number of

of Indians, for two months, in deepening the small rivulet which runs by Tezeuco into the lake, and in forming it into a canal near two miles in length; and though the Mexicans, aware of his intentions, as well as of the danger which threatened them, endeavoured frequently to interrupt the labourers, or to burn the brigantines, the work was at last completed. On the 28th of April, all the Spanish troops, together with auxiliary Indians, were drawn up on the banks of the canal; and with extraordinary military pomp, heightened and rendered more solemn by the celebration of the most sacred rites of religion, the brigantines were launched. As they fell down the canal in order, Father Olmedo blessed them, and gave each its name. Every eye followed them with wonder and hope, until they entered the lake, when they hoisted their sails, and bore away before the wind. A general shout of joy was raised; all admiring that bold inventive genius, which, by means so extraordinary, that their success almost exceeded belief, had acquired the command of a fleet, without the aid of which Mexico would have continued to set the Spanish power and arms at defiance.

Cortes determined to attack the city from three different quarters; from Tezcucó on the east side of the lake, from Tacuba on the west, and from Cuyocan towards the south. Those towns were situated on the principal causeways which led to the capital, and intended for their defence. He appointed Sandoval to command in the first, Pedro de Alvarado in the second, and Christoval de Olid in the third; allotting to each a numerous

rous body of Indian auxiliaries, together with an equal division of Spaniards, who, by the junction of the troops from Hispaniola, amounted now to 86 horsemen, and 818 foot soldiers; of whom 118 were armed with muskets or cross-bows. Their train of artillery consisted of three battering cannon, and 15 field-pieces. He reserved for himself, as the station of greatest importance and danger, the conduct of the brigantines, each armed with one of his small cannon, and manned with 25 Spaniards.

As Alvarado and Olid proceeded towards the posts assigned them, they broke down the aqueducts which the ingenuity of the Mexicans had erected for conveying water into the capital, and, by the distress to which this reduced the inhabitants, gave a beginning to the calamities which they were destined to suffer. Alvarado and Olid found the towns, of which they were ordered to take possession, deserted by their inhabitants, who had fled for safety to the capital, where Guatimozin had collected the chief force of his empire, as there alone he could hope to make a successful stand against the formidable enemies who were approaching to assault him.

The first effort of the Mexicans was to destroy the fleet of brigantines, the fatal effects of whose operations they foresaw and dreaded. Though the brigantines after all the labour and merit of Cortes in forming them, were of inconsiderable bulk, rudely constructed, and manned chiefly with landmen, hardly possessed of skill enough to conduct them, they must have been objects of terror to a people unacquainted with any navigation but that of their lake, and possessed of no vessel

vessel larger than a canoe. Necessity, however, urged Guatimozin to hazard the attack; and hoping to supply by numbers what he wanted in force, he assembled such a multitude of canoes as covered the face of the lake. They rowed on boldly to the charge, while the brigantines, retarded by a dead calm, could scarcely advance to meet them. But as the enemy drew near, a breeze suddenly sprung up; in a moment the sails were spread, and the brigantines with irresistible impetuosity broke their feeble opponents, overset many canoes, and dissipated the whole armament with such slaughter, as convinced the Mexicans, that the progress of the Europeans in knowledge and arts rendered their superiority greater on this new element than they had hitherto found it by land.

From that time Cortes remained master of the lake: and the brigantines not only preserved a communication between the Spaniards in their different stations, though at considerable distance from each other; but were employed to cover the causeways on each side, and keep off the canoes, when they attempted to annoy the troops as they advanced towards the city. He formed the brigantines in three divisions, allotting one to each station, with orders to second the operations of the officer who commanded there. From all the three stations he pushed on the attack against the city with equal vigour; but in a manner so very different from that whereby sieges are conducted in a regular war, as might appear no less improper than singular to persons unacquainted with his situation. Each morning his troops assaulted the barricades which the enemy
had

had erected on the causeways, forced their way over the trenches which they had dug, and through the canals where the bridges were broken down, and endeavoured to penetrate into the heart of the city, in hopes of obtaining some decisive advantage, which might force the enemy to surrender, and terminate the war at once; but when the obstinate valour of the Mexicans rendered the efforts of the day ineffectual, the Spaniards retired in the evening to their former quarters. Thus their toil and danger were, in some measure, continually renewed, the Mexicans repairing in the night what the Spaniards had destroyed through the day, and recovering the posts from which they had driven them. But necessity prescribed this slow and untoward mode of operation. The number of his troops was so small, that Cortes durst not, with a handful of men, attempt to make a lodgment in a city where he might be surrounded and annoyed by such a multitude of enemies. The remembrance of what he had already suffered by the ill-judged confidence with which he had ventured into such a dangerous situation, was still fresh in his mind. The Spaniards, exhausted with fatigue, were unable to guard the various posts which they daily gained: and though their camp was filled with Indian auxiliaries, they durst not devolve this charge upon them, because they were so little accustomed to discipline, that no confidence could be placed in their vigilance. Besides this, Cortes was extremely solicitous to preserve the city as much as possible from being destroyed, both as he destined it to be the capital of his conquests, and wished that it might remain as a monument
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of his glory. From all these considerations, he adhered obstinately, for a month after the siege was opened, to the system which he had adopted. The Mexicans, in their own defence, displayed valour which was hardly inferior to that with which the Spaniards attacked them. On land, on water, by night and by day, one furious conflict succeeded to another. Several Spaniards were killed, more wounded, and all were ready to sink under the toils of unintermitting service, which were rendered more intolerable by the injuries of the season, the periodical rains being now set in with their usual violence.

Astonished and disconcerted with the length and difficulties of the siege, Cortes determined to make one great effort to get possession of the city before he relinquished the plan which he had hitherto followed, and had recourse to any other mode of attack. With this view, he sent instructions to Alvarado and Sandoval to advance with their divisions to a general assault, and took the command in person of that posted on the causeway of Cuyocan. Animated by his presence, and the expectation of some decisive event, the Spaniards pushed forward with irresistible impetuosity. They broke through one barricade after another, forced their way over the ditches and canals, and having entered the city, gained ground incessantly, in spite of the multitude and ferocity of their opponents. Cortes, though delighted with the rapidity of his progress, did not forget that he might still find it necessary to retreat and in order to secure it, appointed Julian de Alderete, a captain of chief note in the troops which he had received from Hispaniola, to fill
up

up the canals and gaps in the causeway as the main body advanced. That officer deeming it inglorious to be thus employed, while his companions were in the heat of action and the career of victory, neglected the important charge committed to him, and hurried on inconsiderately to mingle with the combatants. The Mexicans, whose military attention and skill were daily improving, no sooner observed this, than they carried an account of it to their monarch.

Guatimozin instantly discerned the consequences of the error which the Spaniards had committed, and, with admirable presence of mind, prepared to take advantage of it. He commanded the troops posted in the front to slacken their efforts, in order to allure the Spaniards to push forward, while he despatched a large body of chosen warriors through different streets some by land, and others by water, towards the great breach in the causeway, which had been left open. On a signal which he gave, the priests in the great temple struck the great drum consecrated to the god of war. No sooner did the Mexicans hear its doleful solemn sound, calculated to inspire them with contempt of death and with enthusiastic ardour, than they rushed upon the enemy with frantic rage. The Spaniards, unable to resist men urged on no less by religious fury than hope of success, began to retire at first leisurely, and with a good countenance: but as the enemy pressed on, and their own impatience to escape increased, the terror and confusion became so general, that when they arrived at the gap in the causeway, Spaniards and Tlascalans, horsemen and infantry, plunged in promiscuously, while

while the Mexicans rushed upon them fiercely from every side, their light canoes carrying them through shoals which the brigantines could not approach. In vain did Cortes attempt to stop and rally his flying troops; fear rendered them regardless of his intreaties or commands. Finding all his endeavours to renew the combat fruitless, his next care was to save some of them who had thrown themselves into the water; but while thus employed, with more attention to their situation than to his own, six Mexican captains suddenly laid hold of him, and were hurrying him off in triumph; and though two of his officers rescued him at the expense of their own lives, he received several dangerous wounds before he could break loose. Above 60 Spaniards perished in the rout; and what rendered the disaster more afflicting, 40 of these fell alive into the hands of an enemy never known to shew mercy to a captive.

The approach of night, though it delivered the dejected Spaniards from the attacks of the enemy, ushered in, what was hardly less grievous, the noise of their barbarous triumph, and of the horrid festival with which they celebrated their victory. Every quarter of the city was illuminated; the great temple shone with such peculiar splendor; that the Spaniards could plainly see the people in motion, and the priests busy in hastening the preparations for the death of the prisoners. Through the gloom they fancied that they discerned their companions by the whiteness of their skins, as they were stripped naked and compelled to dance before the image of the god

to

to whom they were to be offered. They heard the shrieks of those who were sacrificed, and thought they could distinguish each unhappy victim by the well-known sound of his voice. Imagination added to what they really saw or heard, and augmented its horror. The most unfeeling melted into tears of compassion, and the stoutest heart trembled at the dreadful spectacle which they beheld.

Cortes, who, besides all that he felt in common with his soldiers, was oppressed with the additional load of anxious reflections natural to a general on such an unexpected calamity, could not like them relieve his mind by giving vent to its anguish. He was obliged to assume an air of tranquillity in order to revive the spirits and hopes of his followers. The juncture, indeed, required an extraordinary exertion of fortitude. The Mexicans, elated with their victory, sallied out next morning to attack him in his quarters. But they did not rely on the efforts of their own arms alone; they sent the heads of the Spaniards whom they had sacrificed, to the leading men in the adjacent provinces, and assured them that the god of war appeased by the blood of their invaders, which had been shed so plentifully on his altars, had declared with an audible voice, that in eight days time those hated enemies should be finally destroyed, and peace and prosperity re-established in the empire.

A prediction, uttered with such confidence, and in terms so void of ambiguity, gained universal credit among a people prone to superstition. The zeal of the provinces which had already declared against the Spaniards augmented,
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and several which had hitherto remained inactive took arms with enthusiastic ardour to execute the decrees of the gods. The Indian auxiliaries who had joined Cortes, accustomed to venerate the same deities with the Mexicans, and to receive the responses of their priests with the same implicit faith, abandoned the Spaniards as a race of men devoted to certain destruction. Even the fidelity of the Tlascalans was shaken, and the Spanish troops were left almost alone in their stations. Cortes, finding that he attempted in vain to dispel the superstitious fears of his confederates by argument, took advantage, from the imprudence of those who had framed the prophecy in fixing its accomplishment so near at hand, to give them a striking demonstration of its falsity. He suspended all military operations during the period marked out by the oracle. Under cover of the brigantines, which kept the army at a distance, his troops lay in safety and the fatal term expired without any disaster.

His allies, ashamed of their own credulity, returned to their station. Other tribes, judging that the gods, who had now deceived the Mexicans, had decreed finally to withdraw their protection from them, joined his standard; and such was the levity of a simple people, moved by every slight impression, that, in a short time after such a general defection of his confederates, Cortes saw himself, if we may believe his own account, at the head of 150,000 Indians. Even with such a numerous army, he found it necessary to adopt a new and more wary system of operation. Instead of renewing his attempts to become master of the city at once, by such bold
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but dangerous efforts of valour as he had already tried, he made his advances gradually, and with every possible precaution against exposing his men to any calamity similar to that which they still bewailed. As the Spaniards pushed forward, the Indians regularly repaired the causeways behind them. As soon as they got possession of any part of the town the houses were instantly levelled with the ground. Day by day, the Mexicans, forced to retire as their enemies gained ground, were hemmed in within more narrow limits. Guatimozin, though unable to stop the career of the enemy, continued to defend his capital with obstinate resolution, and disputed every inch of ground. But the Spaniards, having not only varied their mode of attack, but, by order of Cortes, having changed the weapons with which they fought, were again armed with the long Chinantlan spears, which they had employed with such success against Narvaez; and, by the firm array in which this enabled them to range themselves, they repelled, with little danger, the loose assault of the Mexicans: incredible numbers of them fell in the conflicts, which they renewed every day. While war wasted without, famine began to consume them within the city. The Spanish brigantines, having the entire command of the lake, rendered it impossible to receive any supply of provisions by water. The vast number of his Indian auxiliaries enabled Cortes to shut up the avenues, to the city by land. The stores, which Guatimozin had laid up were exhausted by the multitudes which crowded into the capital to defend their sovereign and the temples of their gods. Not only the
people,

people, but persons of the highest rank, felt the utmost distresses of want. What they suffered brought on infectious and mortal distempers, the last calamity that visits besieged cities, and which filled up the measure of their woes.

But, under the pressure of so many and such various evils, the spirit of Guatimozin remained firm and unsubdued. He rejected with scorn every overture of peace from Cortes; and disdaining the idea of submitting to the oppressors of his country, determined not to survive its ruin. The Spaniards continued their progress. At length all the three divisions penetrated into the great square in the centre of the city, and made a secure lodgment there. Three-fourths of the city were now reduced, and laid in ruins. The remaining quarter was so closely pressed, that it could not long withstand assailants who attacked it from their new station with superior advantage, and more assured expectation of success. The Mexican nobles, solicitous to save the life of a monarch whom they revered, prevailed on Guatimozin to retire from a place where resistance was now vain, that he might rouse the more distant provinces of the empire to arms, and maintain there a more successful struggle with the public enemy. In order to facilitate the execution of this measure, they endeavoured to amuse Cortes with overtures of submission, that while his attention was employed in adjusting the articles of pacification, Guatimozin might escape unperceived. But they made this attempt upon a leader of greater sagacity and discernment than to be deceived by their arts. Cortes suspecting
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their intention, and aware of what moment it was to defeat it, appointed Sandoval, the officer on whose vigilance he could most perfectly rely, to take the command of the brigantines, with strict injunctions to watch every motion of the enemy. Sandoval, attentive to the charge, observing some large canoes crowded with people rowing along the lake with extraordinary rapidity, instantly gave the signal to chase. Gracia Holguin, who commanded the fleetest brigantine, soon overtook them, and was preparing to fire on the foremost canoe, which seemed to carry some person whom all the rest followed and obeyed. At once the rowers dropt their oars, and all on board, throwing down their arms, conjured him with cries and tears to forbear, as the emperor was there. Holguin eagerly seized his prize: and Guatimozin, with a dignified composure, gave himself up into his hands, requesting only that no insult might be offered to the empress or his children. When conducted to Cortes, he appeared neither with the sullen fierceness of a barbarian, nor with the dejection of a suppliant. "I have done," said he, addressing himself to the Spanish general, "what became a monarch. I have defended my people to the last extremity. Nothing now remains but to die. Take this dagger," laying his hand on one which Cortes wore, "plant it in my breast, and put an end to a life which can no longer be of use."

As soon as the fate of their sovereign was known, the resistance of the Mexicans ceased; and Cortes took possession of that small part of the capital which yet remained undestroyed. Thus terminated the siege of Mexico, the most memorable

memorable event in the conquest of America. It continued 75 days, hardly one of which passed without some extraordinary effort of one party in the attack, or of the other in the defence of a city, on the fate of which both knew that the fortune of the empire depended. As the struggle here was more obstinate, it was likewise more equal, than any between the inhabitants of the old and New Worlds. The great abilities of Guatimozin, the number of his troops, the peculiar situation of his capital, so far counterbalanced the superiority of the Spaniards in arms and discipline, that they must have relinquished the enterprise, if they trusted for success to themselves alone. But Mexico was overturned by the jealousy of neighbours who dreaded its power, and by the revolt of subjects impatient to shake off its yoke. By their effectual aid, Cortes was enabled to accomplish what, without such support, he would hardly have ventured to attempt. How much soever this account of the reduction of Mexico may detract, on the one hand, from the marvellous relations of some Spanish writers, by ascribing that to simple and obvious causes which they attribute to the romantic valour of their countrymen, it adds, on the other, to the merit and abilities of Cortes, who under every disadvantage, acquired such an ascendant over unknown nations, as to render them instruments towards carrying his scheme into execution.

The exultation of the Spaniards, on accomplishing this arduous enterprise, was at first excessive. But this was quickly damped by the cruel disappointment of those sanguine hopes which

which had animated them amidst so many hardships and dangers. Instead of the inexhaustible wealth which they expected from becoming masters of Montezuma's treasures, and the ornaments of so many temples, their rapaciousness could collect only an inconsiderable booty amidst ruins and desolation.* Guatimozin, aware of his impending fate, had ordered what remained of the riches amassed by his ancestors to be thrown into the lake. The Indian auxiliaries: while the Spaniards were engaged in conflict with the enemy, had carried off the most valuable part of the spoil. The sum to be divided among the conquerors was so small, that many of them disdained to accept of the pittance which fell to their share, and all murmured and exclaimed; some against Cortes and his confidants, whom they suspected of having secretly appropriated to their own use a large portion of the riches which should have been brought into the common stock; others against Guatimozin, whom they accused of obstinacy, in refusing to discover the place where he had hidden his treasure.

Arguments, intreaties, and promises, were employed in order to soothe them; but with so little effect, that Cortes, from solicitude to check this growing spirit of discontent, gave way to a deed which stained the glory of all his great actions. Without regarding the former dignity of Guatimozin, or feeling any reverence for those virtues which he had displayed, he subjected the
unhappy

* The gold and silver, according to Cortes, amounted only to 120,000 pesos, Relat. 280, A, a sum far inferior to that which the Spaniards had formerly divided in Mexico.

unhappy monarch, together with his chief favourite, to torture, in order to force from them a discovery of the royal treasures, which it was supposed they had concealed. Guatimozin bore whatever the refined cruelty of his tormenters could inflict, with the invincible fortitude of an American warrior. His fellow-sufferer, overcome by the violence of the anguish, turned a dejected eye towards his master, which seemed to implore his permission to reveal all that he knew. But the high-spirited prince, darting on him a look of authority mingled with scorn, checked his weakness, by asking, "Am I now reposing on a bed of flowers?" Over awed by such a reproach, he persevered in his dutiful silence, and expired. Cortes, ashamed of a scene so horrid, rescued the royal victim from the hands of his torturers, and prolonged a life reserved for new indignities and sufferings.

The fate of the capital, as both parties had foreseen, decided that of the empire. The provinces submitted one after another to the conquerors. Small detachments of Spaniards marching through them without interruption, penetrated, in different quarters, to the great Southern Ocean, which, according to the ideas of Columbus, they imagined would open a short as well as easy passage to the East Indies, and secure to the crown of Castile all the envied wealth of those fertile regions; and the active mind of Cortes began already to form schemes for attempting this important discovery. In his after schemes, however, he was disappointed; but Mexico hath ever since remained in the hands of the Spaniards.

CHAP. XIII.

The Discovery and Conquest of Peru.

WHILE Cortes and his associates were engaged in the subjugation of the Mexican empire, the discoveries which had been previously made in the isthmus of Darien, and the settlement of some Spaniards at Pannama, opened the way to the conquest of Peru. On the death of Balboa, by whom the South Sea had been discovered in 1513, the prosecution of this object had been for a time laid aside, the scheme of Balboa having been considered as entirely visionary.

Still, however, there were three persons settled at Panama, on whom the common opinion made so little impression that they determined to go in quest of this country, looked upon to be chimerical by the generality of their neighbours. their names were *Francisco Pizarro*, *Diego de Almagro*, and *Hernando Luque*. Pizarro and Almagro were soldiers of fortune, and Luque was an ecclesiastic, who acted both as priest and schoolmaster at Panama. Their confederacy was authorized by Pedrarias governor of Panama; and each engaged to employ his whole fortune in the adventure. Pizarro, being the least wealthy of the three, engaged to take upon himself the greatest share of the fatigue and danger, and to command in person the armament which was to go first upon the discovery. Almagro offered to
conduct

conduct the supplies of provisions and reinforcement of troops which might be necessary ; and Luque was to remain at Panama, in order to negotiate with the governor, and to superintend whatever was carrying on for the general interest.

In 1524, Pizarro set sail from Panama with a single vessel of small burden, and 112 men ; and so little was he or his countrymen at that time acquainted with the climate of America, that the most improper season of the whole year was chosen for his departure ; the periodical winds, which were then set in, being directly opposite to the course which he proposed to steer. The consequence of this was, that after beating about for 70 days, with much danger and fatigue, he had advanced scarce as far to the south-east as a skilful navigator will now make in three days. He touched at several places of Terra Firma ; but finding that country exceedingly inhospitable and unhealthy, he was obliged to retire to Chuchama, opposite to the Pearl Islands, where he hoped to receive some reinforcements from Panama. Here he was found by Almagro, who had set out in quest of him with a reinforcement of 70 men, and had suffered distresses very much resembling those of Pizarro himself. In particular, he had lost an eye in a combat with the Indians. However, he had advanced as far as the river of St. Juan in the province of Popayan, where the country showing a better aspect, and the inhabitants more friendly, our projectors again began to indulge themselves in hopes, and determined by no means to abandon their scheme.

Almagro

Almagro returned to Panama, in hopes of recruiting their shattered troops. But the bad accounts of the service gave his countrymen such an unfavourable idea of it, that Almagro could levy no more than 80 men, and these with great difficulty. Slender as this reinforcement was, however, the adventurers did not hesitate at renewing their enterprise. The disasters and disappointments they met with in this new attempt, were scarce inferior to those they had already experienced, when part of the armament at last reached the bay of St. Matthew on the coast of Quito, and landed at Tacamez, to the south of the river of Emeralds, where they met with a more fertile and champaign country than any they had yet seen; the natives also were more civilized, and clothed in garments of cotton or woollen stuff, adorned with trinkets of gold and silver. But notwithstanding these favourable appearances, Pizarro did not think fit to attack such a powerful empire with a handful of soldiers already exhausted; and therefore retired to a small island called *Gallo*, with part of the troops; from whence he despatched Almagro to Panama, in hopes of obtaining a reinforcement.

The reception which Almagro met with was by no means agreeable. Some of the adventurers had informed their friends of the many dangers and losses which they had sustained; which not only disheartened people from engaging in the service, but weighed so much with Pedro de los Rois, the successor of Pedrarius, that he prohibited the raising of new recruits, and even dispatched a vessel to bring home Pizarro and his companions from the island of Gallo. Almagro
and

and Luque, though much mortified with this disappointment, privately advised Pizarro not to relinquish an enterprize on which they had built all their hopes. He therefore positively refused to obey the orders of the governor, and employed all his address in persuading his men not to abandon him. But the calamities to which they had been exposed had such an effect upon them, that when he drew a line upon the sand with his sword, telling such as wished to return that they might pass over it, only 13 had resolution to remain with him.

Pizarro with his little troop now fixed their residence on the island of Gorgona, which they considered as a safer retreat than Gallo, as being farther removed from the coast and uninhabited, so that they might with the greater security wait for supplies. Here they continued five months in the most unwholesome climate imaginable, and at last had come to a resolution of committing themselves to sea on a float, when a vessel arrived from Panama to their relief. This was the effect of the continued solicitations of Almagro and Luque; who, though they could not prevail upon the governor to favour the undertaking, had succeeded so far as to induce him to send a small vessel to the relief of Pizarro and his unfortunate associates. However, the more effectually to show his disapprobation of Pizarro's scheme, the governor refused to allow one landman to go on board of the ship which he sent.—The hopes of the adventurers, however, were now again revived, and Pizarro easily induced them to resume their scheme. Instead of returning to Pa-

nama,

nama, therefore, they sailed to the south-east, and in 20 days after the discovery of Gorgona they discovered the coast of Peru. Having touched at some places of less note, they at length arrived at Tumbez, remarkable for its stately temple, and a palace of the Incas or sovereigns of the country. Here they found that what had been told them concerning the riches of the country was true; not only ornaments and sacred vessels being made of gold and silver, but even such as were for common use. Yet to attempt the conquest of this opulent empire with their slender force, would have been madness; they contented themselves therefore with viewing it, procuring two of the beasts of burden called *Llamas*, to which they gave the name of sheep, some vessels of gold and silver, and two young men, whom they proposed to instruct in the Castilian language. With these Pizarro arrived at Panama in the year 1527, near three years after he had set out from that place in his expedition.

The empire of Peru thus discovered, is said to have been originally possessed by independent tribes, justly reckoned among the most savage even in America; living more like wild beasts than men. For several ages they lived in this manner, when suddenly there appeared on the banks of a lake called *Titiaca*, a man and woman of majestic form, and clothed in decent garments. They declared themselves to be the children of the sun, sent by their beneficent parent to instruct and reclaim mankind.

The names of these two extraordinary personages were *Marco Capac* and *Mama Ocollo*. At their persuasion, several of the dispersed savages united,

united, and, receiving their commands as heavenly injunctions, followed them to Cuzco, where they settled, and began to lay the foundation of a city. Manco Capac instructed the men in agriculture, and other useful arts; while Mama Ocollo taught the women to spin and weave; after which Manco turned his attention towards the introducing of proper laws and regulations into his new estate.

Thus, according to the Indian tradition, was founded the empire of the Incas, or lords of Peru. At first its extent was small, the territory of Manco Capac reaching not above eight leagues from Cuzco his capital. Within these narrow limits, however, he exercised the most perfect despotism, and the same was maintained by his successors, all of whom were not only obeyed as monarchs, but revered as deities. Their blood was held to be sacred, and, by prohibiting intermarriages with the people, was never contaminated by mixing with that of any other race. The family thus separated from the rest of the nation, was distinguished by peculiarities in dress and ornaments, which it was unlawful for others to assume. Among the Peruvians, however, it is said, that this high degree of veneration was made use of by the monarchs only to promote the good of their subjects. If we may believe the accounts given by their countrymen, the Peruvian monarchs extended their empire not with a view to increase their own power and wealth, but from a desire of diffusing the blessings of civilization, and the knowledge of the arts which they possessed, among the barba-

rous people whom they reduced, and, during a succession of 12 monarchs, not one deviated from this character.

The Peruvians were taught by Manco to adore the Creator of heaven and earth, whom they denominated *Paca Camac*, that intelligence which animated the world. They seldom built temples or offered sacrifices to him, but worshipped him in their hearts. One temple, however dedicated to *The unknown God*, the Spaniards found at their arrival, erected in a valley, thence named *the valley of Paca Camac*. The sacrifices instituted in honour of the sun consisted chiefly of lambs; besides which they offered all sorts of cattle, fowls, and corn, and even burnt their finest clothes on the altar by way of incense. They had also drink-offerings made of maize or Indian corn, steeped in water. Nor were those oblations the only acts of adoration in general use among them. When they first drank after their meals, they dipped the tip of their finger into the cup, and lifting up their eyes with great devotion, gave the sun thanks for their liquor, before they presumed to take a draught of it.

Besides the worship of the sun, they paid some kind of veneration to the images of several animals and vegetables that had a place in their temples. Those were generally the images brought from the conquered nations, where the people worshipped all sorts of creatures, animate or inanimate; it being the custom, when a province was subdued, to remove all their idols to the temple of the sun at Cuzco.

Exclusive of the solemnities at every full moon, four grand festivals were celebrated annually.

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The first of those, called *Raymi*, was held in the month of June, immediately after the summer solstice, and was kept not only in honour of the sun, but of their first Inca, Manco Capac, and Coya Mama Ocollo, his wife and sister, whom the Incas considered as their first parents, descended immediately from the sun, and sent by him into the world to reform and polish mankind. At this festival, all the viceroys, generals, governors, and nobility, were assembled at the capital city of Cuzco; and the emperor, or Inca, officiated in person as high-priest; though on other occasions the sacerdotal function was discharged by the regular pontiff, who was usually either the uncle or brother of the Inca.

The morning of the festival being come, the Inca, accompanied by his near relations, drawn up in order according to their seniority, went barefoot in procession, at break of day, to the market-place, where they remained looking attentively towards the east in expectation of the rising sun. The luminary no sooner appeared, than they fell prostrate on their faces in the most profound veneration, and universally acknowledged it to be their god and father.

The vassal princes, and nobility, that were not of the blood royal, assembled in another square, and performed the like ceremony. Out of a large flock of sheep the priests then chose a black lamb, which they offered in sacrifice, first turning its head towards the east. From the entrails of the victim, on this occasion, they superstitiously drew prognostics relating to peace and war, and other public events.

That

That the Peruvians believed in the immortality of the soul, appears from the practice of the Incas, who constantly inculcated to the people, that on leaving this world, they should enter into a state of happiness provided for them by their god and father the sun.

Before the arrival of the Spaniards in America, the Peruvians were acquainted with some points of astronomy. They had observed the various motions of the Planet Venus, and the different phases of the moon. The common people divided the year only by the seasons; but the Incas who had discovered the annual revolution of the sun, marked out the summer and winter solstices by high towers, which they erected on the east and west of the city of Cuzco. When the sun came to rise directly opposite to four of those towers, on the east side of the city, and to set against those of the west, it was then the summer solstice; and in like manner, when it rose and set against the other towers, it was the winter solstice. They had also erected marble pillars in the great court before the temple of the sun, by which they observed the equinoxes. This observation was made under the equator, when the sun being directly vertical, the pillars cast no shade. At those times they crowned the pillars with garlands of flowers and odoriferous herbs, and celebrating a festival, offered to their adored luminary rich presents of gold and precious stones.

They distinguished the months by the moon, and their weeks were called quarters of the moon; but the days of the week they marked only by the ordinal numbers, as first, second, &c.

&c. They were astonished at the eclipses of the sun and moon. When the former hid his face, they concluded it was on account of their sins, imagining that this phenomenon portended famine, war, and pestilence, or some other terrible calamity. In a similar state of the moon, they apprehended that she was sick, and when totally obscured, that she was dying. At this alarming crisis they sounded their trumpets, and endeavoured by every kind of noise to rouse the lunar planet from her supposed lethargy; teaching their children to cry out, and call upon *mama quilla*, or "mother moon," that she would not die and leave them to perish.

They made no predictions from any of the stars, but considered dreams, and the entrails of beasts which they offered in sacrifice, as instructive objects of divination. When they saw the sun set, they imagined that he plunged into the ocean, to appear next morning in the east.

Among a people wholly void of letters, the speculative essays of the understanding must have been very rude and imperfect. They had, however, among them *amentas*, or philosophers, who delivered moral precepts, and likewise cultivated poetry. Comedies and tragedies composed by those bards were acted on their festivals before the king and the royal family, the performers being the great men of the court, and the principal officers of the army. The *amentas* also composed songs and ballads; but if we may judge from the rudeness of the music with which they are said to have been accompanied, they were far from being agreeable to a polished ear.

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That the Peruvians were not unacquainted with painting and statuary, appears from the furniture and ornaments of their temples and palaces; but in all the implements of mechanic arts they were extremely deficient. Though many goldsmiths were constantly employed, they had never invented an anvil of any metal, but in its stead made use of a hard stone. They beat their plate with round pieces of copper in place of hammers; neither had they any files or graving tools. Instead of bellows for melting their metals, they used copper pipes, of a yard long, almost of the form of a trumpet. Having no tongs to take their heated metal out of the fire, they made use of a stick or copper bar. The carpenters had no other tools than hatchets made of copper or flint; nor had they learned the use of iron: though the country affords mines of that metal. Instead of nails, they fastened their timber with cords or the tough twigs of trees. A thorn, or a small bone, served them for a needle; and instead of thread, the sinews of animals, or the fibres of some plant. Their knives were made of flint or copper.

When the Spaniards first visited this country, they found it agitated by a civil war. Huana Capac, the 12th monarch from the founder of the state, was seated on the throne; who is represented as a prince no less conspicuous for his abilities in war than for his pacific virtues. By him the kingdom of Quito was subdued, which almost doubled the extent of the dominions and power of the Peruvian empire. Notwithstanding the ancient and fundamental law against polluting the blood of the Inca with any foreign alliance,

liance, Huana married the daughter of the conquered monarch, by whom he had a son named *Atabualpa*, commonly written *Atabalipa*, to whom, at his death in 1529, he left the kingdom of Quito, bestowing the rest of his dominions upon Huascar his eldest son by a mother of the royal race. This produced a civil war, in which Atabalipa proved victorious, and afterwards attempted to secure himself on the throne by putting to death all the descendants of Manco Capac, styled *the children of the Sun*, whom he could seize either by force or stratagem; however, from a political motive, he spared the life of his rival Huascar, who had the misfortune to be taken prisoner in an engagement, that, by issuing out orders in his name, he might more easily establish his own authority, and cover the illegality of his birth.

This contest had so much engaged the attention of the Peruvians, that they never once attempted to check the progress of the Spaniards. It was some time, however, before Pizarro was informed of this contest, so much in his favour. The first intelligence which he received of it was a message from Huascar, asking his assistance against Atabalipa, whom he represented as a rebel and an usurper. Pizarro perceived the importance of the intelligence, and therefore determined to push forward, while intestine discord put it out of the power of the Peruvians to attack him with their whole force. Being obliged to divide his troops, in order to leave a garrison in St. Michael, which might serve for a place of retreat in case of a disaster, he began his march with only 62 horsemen, and 102 foot-soldiers,

20 of whom were armed with cross-bows, and only three with muskets. He directed his course towards Caxamalca, a small town at the distance of 12 days march from St. Michael, where Atabalipa was encamped with a considerable body of troops. Before he had proceeded far, an officer dispatched by the Inca met him with a valuable present from that prince, accompanied with a proffer of his alliance, and his assurances of a friendly reception at Caxamalca. Pizarro, according to the usual artifice of his countrymen in America, pretended to come as the ambassador of a very powerful monarch, and declared that he was now advancing with intention to offer Atabalipa his aid against those enemies who disputed his title to the throne.

As the object of the Spaniards in entering their country was altogether incomprehensible to the Peruvians, they had formed various conjectures concerning it, without being able to decide whether they should consider their new guests as beings of a superior nature, who had visited them from some beneficent motive, or as formidable avengers of their crimes, and enemies to their repose and liberty. The continual professions of the Spaniards, that they came to enlighten them with the knowledge of truth, and lead them in the way of happiness favoured the former opinion; the outrages which they committed, their rapaciousness and cruelty, were awful confirmations of the latter. While in this state of uncertainty, Pizarro's declaration of his pacific intentions so far removed all the Inca's fears, that he determined to give him a friendly reception. In consequence of this resolution, the
Spaniards

Spaniards were allowed to march in tranquillity across the sandy desert between St. Michael and Motupè, where the most feeble effort of an enemy, added to the unavoidable distresses which they suffered in passing through that comfortless region, must have proved fatal to them. From Motupè they advanced towards the mountains which encompass the low country of Peru, and passed through a defile so narrow and inaccessible, that a few men might have defended it against a numerous army. But here likewise, from the same inconsiderate incredulity of the Inca, the Spaniards met with no opposition, and took quiet possession of a fort erected for the security of that important station. As they now approached near to Caxamalca, Atabalipa renewed his professions of friendship; and, as an evidence of his sincerity, sent them presents of greater value than the former.

On entering Caxamalca, Pizarro took possession of a large court, on one side of which was a house which the Spanish historians call a palace of the Inca, and on the other a temple of the sun, the whole surrounded with a strong rampart or wall of earth. When he had posted his troops in this advantageous station, he dispatched Hernando Soto, and his brother Ferdinand, to the camp of Atabalipa, which was about a league distant from the town. He instructed them to confirm the declaration which he had formerly made of his pacific disposition, and to desire an interview with the Inca, that he might explain more fully the intention of the Spaniards in visiting his country. They were treated with all the respectful hospitality usual among the Peruvians

ruvians in the reception of their most cordial friends, and Atabalipa promised to visit the Spanish commander next day in his quarters. The decent deportment of the Peruvian monarch, the order of his court, and the reverence with which his subjects approached his person and obeyed his commands, astonished those Spaniards, who had never met in America with any thing more dignified than the petty cacique of a barbarous tribe. But their eyes were still more powerfully attracted by the vast profusion of wealth which they observed in the Inca's camp. The rich ornaments worn by him and his attendants, the vessels of gold and silver in which the repast offered to them was served up, the multitude of utensils of every kind formed of those precious metals, opened prospects far exceeding any idea of opulence that an European of the 16th century could form.

On their return to Caxamalca, while their minds were yet warm with admiration and desire of the wealth which they had beheld, they gave such a description of it to their countrymen, as confirmed Pizarro in a resolution which he had already taken. From his own observation of American manners during his long service in the New World, as well as from the advantages which Cortes had derived from seizing Montezuma, he knew of what consequence it was to have the Inca in his power. For this purpose, he formed a plan as daring as it was perfidious. Notwithstanding the character he had assumed of an ambassador from a powerful monarch, who courted an alliance with the Inca, and in violation of the repeated offers which he had made
to

to him of his own friendship and assistance, he determined to avail himself of the unsuspecting simplicity with which Atabalipa relied on his professions and to seize his person during the interview to which he had invited him. He prepared for the execution of his scheme with the same deliberate arrangement, and with as little compunction, as if it had reflected no disgrace on himself or his country. He divided his cavalry into three small squadrons, under the command of his brothers Ferdinand, Soto, and Benalcazar; his infantry was formed into one body, except 20 of most tried courage, whom he kept near his own person to support him in the dangerous service which he reserved for himself; the artillery, consisting of two field-pieces, and the cross-bow men, were placed opposite to the avenue by which Atabalipa was to approach. All were commanded to keep within the square, and not to move until the signal for action was given.

Early in the morning the Peruvian camp was all in motion. But as Atabalipa was solicitous to appear with the greatest splendour and magnificence in his first interview with the strangers, the preparations for this were so tedious, that the day was far advanced before he began his march. Even then, lest the order of the procession should be deranged, he moved so slowly, that the Spaniards became impatient and apprehensive that some suspicion of their intention might be the cause of this delay. In order to remove this, Pizarro despatched one of his officers with fresh assurances of his friendly disposition.

tion. At length the Inca approached. First of all appeared 400 men in an uniform dress, as harbingers to clear the way before him. He himself, sitting on a throne or couch, adorned with plumes of various colours, and almost covered with plates of gold and silver enriched with precious stones, was carried on the shoulders of his principal attendants. Behind him came some chief officers of his court, carried in the same manner. Several bands of singers and dancers accompanied this cavalcade; and the whole plain was covered with troops, amounting to more than 30,000 men.

As the Inca drew near the Spanish quarters, father Vincent Valverde, chaplain to the expedition, advanced with a crucifix in one hand, and a breviary in the other, and in a long discourse explained to him the doctrine of the creation, the fall of Adam, the incarnation, the sufferings and resurrection of Jesus Christ, the appointment of St. Peter as God's vicegerent on earth, the transmission of his apostolical power by succession to the popes, the donation made to the king of Castile by pope Alexander of all the regions in the New World. In consequence of all this, he required Atabalipa to embrace the Christian faith, to acknowledge the supreme jurisdiction of the pope, and to submit to the king of Castile as his lawful sovereign; promising, if he complied instantly with this requisition, that the Castilian monarch would protect his dominions, and permit him to continue in the exercise of his royal authority; but if he should impiously refuse to obey this summons, he denounced war
against

against him in his master's name, and threatened him with the most dreadful effects of his vengeance.

This strange harangue, unfolding deep mysteries, and alluding to unknown facts, of which no power of eloquence could have conveyed at once a distinct idea to an American, was so lamely translated by an unskilful interpreter, little acquainted with the idiom of the Spanish tongue, and incapable of expressing himself with propriety in the language of the Inca, that its general tenor was altogether incomprehensible to Atabalipa. Some parts in it, of more obvious meaning, filled him with astonishment and indignation. His reply, however, was temperate. He began with observing, that he was lord of the dominions over which he reigned by hereditary succession ; and added, that he could not conceive how a foreign priest should pretend to dispose of territories which did not belong to him ; that if such a preposterous grant had been made, he, who was the rightful possessor, refused to confirm it ; that he had no inclination to renounce the religious institutions established by his ancestors ; nor would he forsake the service of the sun, the immortal divinity whom he and his people revered, in order to worship the God of the Spaniards, who was subject to death ; that with respect to other matters contained in his discourse, as he had never heard of them before, and did not now understand their meaning, he desired to know where he had learned things so extraordinary. " In this book," answered Valverde, reaching out to him his breviary. The Inca opened it eagerly ; and turning over the leaves,
lifted

lifted it to his ear : " This," says he, " is silent ; it tells me nothing ;" and threw it with disdain to the ground. The enraged monk, running towards his countrymen, cried out, " to arms, Christians, to arms ; the word of God is insulted ; avenge this profanation on those impious dogs."

Pizarro, who during this long conference had with difficulty restrained his soldiers, eager to seize the rich spoils of which they had now so near a view, immediately gave the signal of assault. At once the martial music struck up, the cannon and muskets began to fire, the horse sallied out fiercely to the charge, the infantry rushed on sword in hand. The Peruvians, astonished at the suddenness of an attack, which they did not expect, and dismayed with the destructive effects of the fire-arms, and the irresistible impression of the cavalry, fled with universal consternation on every side, without attempting either to annoy the enemy or to defend themselves. Pizarro, at the head of his chosen band, advanced directly towards the Inca : and though his nobles crowded around him with officious zeal, and fell in numbers at his feet, while they vied one with another in sacrificing their own lives, that they might cover the sacred person of their sovereign, the Spaniards soon penetrated to the royal seat ; and Pizarro seizing the Inca by the arm dragged him to the ground, and carried him as a prisoner to his quarters. The fate of the monarch increased the precipitate flight of his followers. The Spaniards pursued them towards every quarter, and, with deliberate and unrelenting barbarity, continued to slaughter
wretched

wretched fugitives, who never once offered at resistance. The carnage did not cease until the close of day. Above 4000 Peruvians were killed. Not a single Spaniard fell, nor was one wounded but Pizarro himself, whose hand was slightly hurt by one of his own soldiers, while struggling eagerly to lay hold on the Inca.

The plunder taken on this occasion was immense, but the Spaniards were still unsatisfied; which being observed by the Inca, he endeavoured to apply himself to their ruling passion, avarice, in order to obtain his liberty; and therefore offered such a ransom as astonished them, even after all they knew concerning the opulence of the country. The apartment in which he was confined was 22 feet in length and 16 in breadth; and all this space he engaged to fill with vessels of gold as high as he could reach. This proposal was eagerly caught by Pizarro, and a line was drawn upon the walls to mark the stipulated height.

Atabalipa, charmed with the thoughts of liberty, immediately set about performing his part of the agreement, and despatched messengers into all parts of the empire, in order to collect the immense quantity of gold which he had promised; and though the unfortunate monarch was now in the hands of his enemies, such was the veneration which his subjects had for him, that his orders were obeyed with as great alacrity as though he had been at full liberty; while he, in the mean time flattering himself with the hopes of being soon released, made no preparations for expelling the invaders from his dominions.

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In a short time Pizarro received intelligence that Almagro was arrived at St. Michael with a reinforcement equal to the force he had with him. This was a matter of great joy to the Spaniards, and no small vexation to Atabalipa, who now considered his kingdom as in danger of being totally over-run by these strangers, whose force he neither knew, nor the means they had of transporting themselves. For this reason he determined to put his brother Huascar to death, lest he should join the strangers against him. To this he was the rather inclined, as he had got information that the captive prince had been making applications to them, and had offered them, a much larger sum than what was stipulated for the Inca's ransom; and in consequence of this determination the unfortunate prince lost his life.

In the mean time the Indians daily arrived at Caxamalca with vast quantities of treasure; the sight of which so much inflamed the Spaniards, that they insisted upon an immediate division: and this being complied with, there fell to the share of each horseman, 8000 pesos, at that time not inferior to the value of as many pounds sterling in the present century, and half as much to each foot-soldier, Pizarro and his officers receiving shares proportional to their dignity. A fifth part was reserved for the emperor, together with some vessels of curious workmanship as a present. In consequence of this immense acquisition of wealth, many of the Spaniards became clamorous for their discharge; which was readily granted by their general, as well knowing that the display of their riches would not fail to allure

allure adventurers more hardy, though less opulent, to his standard.

After this division of the spoil, Atabalipa was very importunate with Pizarro in order to recover his liberty; but the Spaniard, with unparalleled treachery and cruelty, had now determined to put him to death. To this he was urged by Almagro's soldiers, who though they had received an equal share with the rest, were still unsatisfied. The Inca's ransom had not been completed; and they were apprehensive, that whatever sums might afterwards be brought in, the troops of Pizarro would appropriate them to themselves as part of that ransom. They insisted with Pizarro, therefore, to put him to death, that all the adventurers might for the future be on an equal footing. Accounts were likewise received that troops were assembling in the remote provinces of the empire, which Pizarro suspected to be done by the Inca's orders. These accounts were heightened by one Philip-pilo an Indian interpreter, who had conceived a passion for one of the unhappy monarch's wives; and for that reason wished to have him put to death. Atabalipa himself, too, had the misfortune to hasten his own ruin by his conceiving a contemptuous notion of Pizarro, which he had not the precaution to conceal. He had, since they were first discovered by him, admired the European arts of reading and writing, and wished much to know whether he should regard it as a natural or acquired talent. In order to determine this, he desired one of the soldiers who guarded him, to write the name of God upon the nail of his thumb. This he showed to several Spaniards

iards successively, asking its meaning ; and, to his surprise, they all returned the same answer. At length Pizarro entered ; and, on presenting it to him, he blushed, and was obliged to own his ignorance ; which inspired the Inca with the contemptuous notion of him abovementioned.

In order, however, to give some show of justice to such a detestable action, and that he might be exempted from standing singly as the perpetrator, Pizarro resolved to accuse the Inca of some capital crime, and institute a court of judicature for the purpose of trying him. For this purpose, he appointed himself and Almagro, with two assistants, as judges, with full powers to acquit or condemn : an attorney-general was named to carry on the prosecution in the king's name ; counsellors were chosen to assist the prisoner in his defence ; and clerks were ordained to record the proceedings of court. Before this strange tribunal a charge was exhibited still more amazing. It consisted of various articles : that Atabalipa, though a bastard, had dispossessed the lawful owner of the throne, and usurped the regal power ; that he had put his brother and lawful sovereign to death ; that he was an idolator, and had not only permitted, but commanded the offering up of human sacrifices ; that he had a great number of concubines ; that since his imprisonment, he had wasted and embezzled the royal treasures, which now belonged of right to the conquerors ; and that he had excited his subjects to take up arms against the Spaniards. On these heads of accusation they proceeded to try the sovereign of a great empire, over whom they had no jurisdiction. To all these charges the
Inca

Inca pleaded not guilty. With respect to the death of his brother, he alleged, that the Spaniards could take no cognizance of the fact. With regard to the taxes which he had levied, and the wars he had carried on, they were nothing to the Spaniards; and as to the conspiracy against the Spaniards, he utterly denied it. He called heaven and earth to witness the integrity of his conduct, and how faithfully he had performed his engagements, and the perfidy of his accusers. He desired to be sent over to Spain to take his trial before the emperor; but no regard was paid to his intreaties. He was condemned to be burnt alive; which cruel sentence was mitigated, as a great favour, to strangling; and the unhappy monarch was executed without mercy.

The death of the Inca was followed by a revolution in the Spanish affairs, who now became generally odious. Hideous cries were set up by his women as the funeral procession passed by their apartment; many offered to bury themselves alive with him; and on being hindered, strangled themselves out of grief and vexation. The whole town of Caxamalca was filled with lamentation, which quickly extended itself over the whole kingdom. Friends and enemies accused the Spaniards of inhumanity and treachery. Loads of gold that were coming to Caxamalca by order of the deceased Inca were now stopped; and the loss of the treasure was the first unfortunate consequence which the Spaniards felt from their late iniquitous conduct. The two factions of Indians united against Pizarro; and many of the Spaniards not only exclaimed against the cruelty of the judges, but would even have mutinied,

mutinied, had not a sense of the impending danger kept them quiet. At Cuzco the friends of the emperor Huascar proclaimed Manco Capac the legitimate brother of the late Inca, determining to support him to the last against all the machinations of his enemies. Pizarro, in the mean time, set up Taparpa, the son of Atabalipa, causing him to be treated with all the honours due to an emperor. Immediately he set out for Cuzco, the gaining of which was absolutely necessary for his design. An army of Indians occupied the passes, and resolved to dispute his progress. The contest, however, was soon decided; the Spanish cavalry bore down every thing before them, and great numbers of Indians were slain. The conquerors gained a considerable booty; and Pizarro despatched Almagro to reduce Cuzco, while he himself founded a new colony in the fruitful valley of Xauna; which, however, was not permanent, being afterwards removed to the place where Lima now stands.

While Pizarro was thus employed, another commander, named *Ferdinando Soto*, was detached with 60 horse to make the best of his way to Cuzco, and clear the road for the march of the remainder of the army. He was opposed by a formidable collection of Indians, who had fortified themselves in order to defend a pass against him; for which reason, fearing lest his strength might be unequal, he sent a message to Pizarro, desiring that the Inca might join him, thinking that his presence would awe the Peruvians, and prevent the further effusion of blood; but his expectations were frustrated by the death of the Inca, which happened about this time; so that
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there was now a necessity for having recourse to arms; for as the Spaniards set up no person in his room, the title of Manco Capac was universally acknowledged.

In the mean time, a new supply of soldiers arriving from Spain, Benalcazar, governor of St. Michael, undertook an expedition against Quito, where, according to the report of the natives, Atabalipa had left the greatest part of his treasure. He accomplished his purpose with very great difficulty, having a country covered with rocks and mountains to pass, and being opposed by large bodies of the natives. But when he got possession of the city, to his extreme mortification he found that the inhabitants had carried off all their gold and silver; for they being now acquainted with the ruling passion of the Spaniards, had taken care to disappoint it, by removing the treasures which they knew very well had been the cause of the expedition.

About the same time Alvarado governor of Guatimala, invaded the province of Chili. In this expedition his troops endured such hardships, and suffered so much from the cold among the Andes, that a fifth part of the men and all the horses died, and at the same time the rest were so much dispirited and emaciated, that they became quite unfit for service. What was worst of all, when they had arrived at the end of their journey, they met with a body of Spaniards drawn up in hostile array to oppose them. These had been sent against him by Pizarro, who claimed Chili as part of his jurisdiction, and were now joined by Benalcazar, with the troops under his command. Alvarado, however, ad-
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vanced boldly to the attack ; but, on the interposition of some moderate men in each party, the difference was accommodated. Alvarado engaged to return to his government, upon his being paid 100,000 pesos to defray the expense of his armament. However, most of his followers remained in the country, and enlisted in the service of Pizarro.

In the mean time Ferdinand Pizarro, the brother of the general, had landed in Spain, where he produced such immense quantities of gold and silver as astonished the court, even after all they had seen of the wealth of their new discovered territories. The general's authority was confirmed to him with new powers and privileges, and the addition of 70 leagues extending along the coast, to the southward of the territory granted in his former patent. Almagro had the title of *adelantado* or *governor* conferred upon him, with jurisdiction over 200 leagues of a country lying southward from the province allotted to Pizarro ; he himself was made a knight of the order of St. Jago.

Of these transactions some accounts were received at Peru before the arrival of Ferdinand Pizarro himself ; and no sooner did Almagro hear that he had obtained the royal grant of an independent government, than, pretending that Cuzco, the capital of all Peru, lay within his jurisdiction, he attempted to seize it. Pizarro was no less ready to oppose him ; and a very dangerous civil war was about to take place, when the quarrel, was made up, on condition that Almagro should attempt the conquest of Chili ; and if he did not find there an establishment equivalent
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to his expectations, Pizarro should yield up to him part of Peru.

By this reconciliation Pizarro was left at liberty to settle the internal policy of his province, which, though little qualified for a legislator, he attempted, by dividing the country into various districts, appointing magistrates to preside in each, and establishing such regulations concerning the administration of justice, the royal revenue, &c. as occurred to him. The seat of government he removed from Cuzco to Lima, which he named *Ceudad des los Reyes*, and which name it still retains among the Spaniards in all legal and formal deeds. Its other name, *Lima*, is a corruption of *Rimac*, the name of the valley in which the city stands.

In the mean time Almagro had set out on an expedition to Chili; and while he was thus employed, Pizarro encouraged some of his most distinguished officers to invade those provinces of the empire which had not yet been visited by the Spaniards. This he did with a view to keep them employed, and prevent tumults; but it was attended with very terrible consequences. No sooner did Manco Capac the Inca perceive the security of the Spaniards in thus dividing their forces, than he seized the opportunity of making one vigorous effort to redress the wrongs of himself and his countrymen, and expel the invaders, who had tyrannized in such a cruel manner. Though strictly guarded by the Spaniards, he found means to communicate his intentions to the chief men of his nation, whom he joined in the year 1536, under pretence of celebrating a festival

festival which he had obtained liberty from Pizarro to attend. Upon this the standard of war was immediately erected; and a most formidable army, according to the Spanish historians, of 200,000 men, collected. Many Spaniards were massacred in their habitations, and several detachments entirely cut off; and while this vast army laid siege to Cuzco, another formidable body invested Lima, and kept the governor closely shut up. The greatest effort, however, was made against Cuzco, which was defended by Pizarro and his two brothers, with only 170 men. The siege lasted nine months; many of the Spaniards were killed; among whom was Juan Pizarro, the general's brother, and the best beloved of them all. The rest were reduced to the most desperate situation, when Almagro appeared suddenly in the neighbourhood of Cuzco. He had received such accounts of the insurrection in Peru, as would at any rate have determined him to return to the assistance of Pizarro; but besides this, he had now received the royal patent, creating him governor of Chili, and deemed it certain beyond all contradiction, that Cuzco lay within his jurisdiction; for which reason he hastened to prevent it from falling into the hands of the Peruvians. On his arrival his assistance was solicited by both parties. The Inca made many advantageous proposals, but at length despairing of obtaining any cordial union with a Spaniard, he attacked him in the night by surprise with a great body of chosen troops. But the Spanish valour and discipline prevailed against all the numbers of their enemies; and the Peruvians were repulsed with such slaughter, that

that a great part of the remainder dispersed, and Almagro advanced to the gates of Cuzco without opposition. Pizarro's brothers took measures to oppose his entrance; but prudence for the present restrained both parties from entering into a civil war while they were surrounded with enemies; and therefore each leader endeavoured to corrupt the followers of his antagonist. In this Almagro had the advantage; and so many of Pizarro's troops deserted in the night, that Almagro was encouraged to advance towards the city, where he surprised the centinels; and investing the house where the two brothers were lodged, he compelled them, after an obstinate defence, to surrender at discretion; and Almagro's authority over Cuzco was immediately recognized as authentic.

In this fray only two or three persons were killed; but matters soon began to wear a more serious aspect. Francis Pizarro, having dispersed the Peruvians who invested Lima, and received considerable reinforcements from other provinces, ordered 500 men, under the command of Alonso de Alvarado to march to Cuzco, in hopes of relieving his brothers, if they were not already cut off. They advanced to a small distance from the capital, before they knew that they had a more formidable enemy than the Indians to encounter. When they saw their countrymen drawn up on the banks of a river to oppose them, they were greatly surprised; however Almagro, who wished rather to gain them than to fight, began with attempting to seduce their leader. Alvarado could not by any means be gained over; but being inferior in military skill,

skill, Almagro attacked him by surprise, entirely defeated and dispersed his army, taking himself and some of his principal officers prisoners.

This victory seemed decisive; and Almagro was advised to make it so by putting to death Gonzalo and Ferdinand Pizarro, Alvarado, and some others whom he could not hope to gain. This advice, however, he declined from motives of humanity, and a desire of making his adversary appear the aggressor. For these reasons, instead of marching directly against Pizarro, he retired quietly to Cuzco; which gave his adversary time to recollect himself from the disorder into which the news of so many disasters had thrown him. He began again to practice upon Almagro those arts which had before proved successful; and Almagro again suffered himself to be deceived by pretended offers of pacification. The negotiations for this purpose were protracted for several months; and while Almagro was employed in detecting and eluding the fraudulent intentions of the governor, Gonzalo Pizarro and Alvarado found means to corrupt the soldiers who guarded them, and not only made their own escape, but persuaded 60 of Almagro's men to accompany them. There now remained only Ferdinand Pizarro in the hands of Almagro: and he was delivered by another act of treachery. The general proposed that all points of controversy should be submitted to the decision of their sovereign; and that Ferdinand Pizarro should be instantly set at liberty, and return to Spain, together with some other officers whom the general proposed to send over to show the justice of his claims. Though the intention of Pizarro
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by making this proposal was evident. Almagro was deceived by it, and released those whom Pizarro wanted; which he had no sooner done, than the latter threw off all disguise, and openly declared, that arms alone must now decide the matter between them. He therefore immediately set out for Cuzco with an army of 700 men, to which Almagro had only 500 to oppose. From the weakness of his forces, probably, Almagro did not attempt to guard some strong passes, through which Pizarro had to march, but waited patiently for his adversary in a plain open country.

In the mean time, Pizarro advanced without any obstruction from his enemy; and an engagement soon happened, in which Almagro was defeated and taken prisoner. The conquerors behaved with great cruelty in massacring a great number of officers, and treating Almagro himself with great severity. The Indians had assembled in great numbers to see the battle, with an intention to join the vanquished party; but were so much overawed by the Spaniards, that they retired quietly after the battle was over, and thus lost the only opportunity they ever had of expelling their tyrants.—Almagro, after having for some months languished in prison, was at length formally tried, and condemned to die, by Pizarro. Notwithstanding his consummate bravery, for which he was remarkable, this hardy veteran could not bear the deliberate approach of death, but condescended to use intreaties to save his life. The Pizarros, however, continued inflexible; and he was first strangled in prison,
and

and then publicly beheaded. He left one son by an Indian woman, whom he appointed his successor, by virtue of a power granted him by the emperor.

As during these dissensions all intercourse with Spain ceased, it was sometime before the accounts of the civil war were received at court. The first intelligence was given by some of Almagro's soldiers, who had left America on the ruin of their cause; and they did not fail to represent the injustice and violence of Pizarro in the strongest colours, which strongly prejudiced the emperor against him. In a short time, however, Ferdinand Pizarro arrived, and endeavoured to give matters a new turn. The emperor was uncertain which of them he ought to believe; and therefore thought it necessary to send over some person with ample powers to inquire into the merits of the cause, and to determine certainly who was in the wrong. If he found the governor still alive, he was to assume only the title of judge, in order to have the appearance of acting in concert with him; but if he was dead, the viceroy might then produce his commission appointing him Pizarro's successor in the government. This complaisance to Pizarro, however, proceeded more from a dread of his power than from any other thing; for in the mean time, his brother Ferdinand was arrested at Madrid, and confined to a prison, where he remained above 20 years. The person nominated to this important trust was Christoval Vaca de Castro.

While this gentleman was preparing for his voyage, Pizarro, considering himself as the unrivalled

rivalled master of Peru, proceeded to parcel out its territories among the conquerors; and had this division been made with any degree of impartiality, the extent of country which he had to bestow was sufficient to have gratified his friends, and to have gained his enemies. But Pizarro conducted this transaction, not with the equity and candour of a judge attentive to discover and to reward merit, but with the illiberal spirit of a party leader. Large districts, in parts of the country most cultivated and populous, were set apart as his own property, or granted to his brothers, his adherents, and favourites. To others, lots less valuable and inviting were assigned. The followers of Almagro, amongst whom were many of the original adventurers, to whose valour and perseverance Pizarro was indebted for his success, were totally excluded from any portion in those lands, towards the acquisition of which they had contributed so largely. As the vanity of every individual set an immoderate value upon his own services, and the idea of each, concerning the recompense due to them, rose gradually to a more exorbitant height in proportion as their conquests extended, all who were disappointed in their expectations exclaimed loudly against the rapaciousness and partiality of the governor. The partisans of Almagro murmured in secret, and meditated revenge.

Rapid as the progress of the Spaniards in South America had been since Pizarro landed in Peru, their avidity of dominion was not yet satisfied. The officers to whom Ferdinand Pizarro gave the command of different detachments, penetrated

penetrated into several new provinces; and though some of them were exposed to great hardships in the cold and barren regions of the Andes, and others suffered distress not inferior amidst the woods and marshes of the plains, they made discoveries and conquests which extended their knowledge of the country, as well as added to their power. Pedro de Valdivia re-assumed Almagro's scheme of invading Chili; and, notwithstanding the fortitude of the natives in defending their possessions, made such progress in the conquest of the country, that he founded the city of St. Jago, and gave a beginning to the establishment of the Spanish dominion there. But of all the enterprises undertaken about this period, that of Gonzales Pizarro was the most remarkable. The governor, who seems to have resolved that no person in Peru should possess any station of distinguished eminence or authority but those of his own family, had deprived Benalcazar, the conqueror of Quito, of his command in that kingdom, and appointed his brother Gonzales to take the government of it. He instructed him to attempt the discovery and conquest of the country to the east of the Andes; which, according to the information of the Indians, abounded with cinnamon and other valuable spices. Gonzales, not inferior to any of his brothers in courage, and no less ambitious of acquiring distinction, eagerly engaged in this difficult service. He set out from Quito at the head of 340 soldiers, near one half of whom were horsemen, with 4000 Indians to carry their provisions. In forcing their way through the defiles, or over the ridges of the Andes, excess of cold

cold and fatigue, to neither of which they were accustomed, proved fatal to the greater part of the wretched attendants. The Spaniards, though more robust, and inured to a variety of climates, suffered considerably, and lost some men; but when they descended into the low country, their distresses increased. During two months it rained incessantly, without any interval of fair weather long enough to dry their clothes. The vast plains upon which they were now entering, either altogether without inhabitants, or occupied by the rudest and least industrious tribes in the New World, yielded little subsistence. They could not advance a step but as they cut a road through woods, or made it through marshes. Such incessant toil, and continual scarcity of food, seem more than sufficient to have exhausted and dispirited any troops. But the fortitude and perseverance of the Spaniards in the 16th century, were insuperable. Allured by frequent but false accounts of rich countries before them, they persisted in struggling on, until they reached the banks of the Coca or Napo, one of the large rivers whose waters pour into the Maragnon, and contribute to its grandeur. There, with infinite labour, they built a bark, which they expected would prove of great utility, both in conveying them over rivers, in procuring provisions, and in exploring the country. This was manned with 50 soldiers, under the command of Francis Orellana, the officer next in rank to Pizarro. The stream carried them down with such rapidity, that they were soon far a-head of their countrymen, who followed slowly and with difficulty by land.

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At this distance from his commander, Orellana, a young man of an aspiring mind, began to fancy himself independent; and, transported with the predominant passion of the age, he formed the scheme of distinguishing himself as a discoverer, by following the course of the Maragnon until it joined the ocean, and by surveying the vast regions through which it flows. This scheme of Orellana's was as bold as it was treacherous. For, if he be chargeable with the guilt of having violated his duty to his commander, and with having abandoned his fellow-soldiers, in a pathless desert, where they had hardly any hopes of success, or even of safety, but what were founded on the service which they expected from the bark, his crime is, in some measure, balanced by the glory of having ventured upon a navigation of near 2000 leagues, through unknown nations, in a vessel hastily constructed with green timber, and by very unskilful hands, without provisions, without a compass, or a pilot. But his courage and alacrity supplied every defect. Committing himself fearlessly to the guidance of the stream, the Napo bore him along to the south, until he reached the great channel of the Maragnon. Turning with it towards the coast, he held on his course in that direction. He made frequent descents on both sides the river, sometimes seizing by force of arms the provisions of the fierce savages seated on its banks, and sometimes procuring a supply of food by a friendly intercourse with more gentle tribes. After a long series of dangers, which he encountered with amazing fortitude, and of distresses which he supported with no less magnanimity, he reached

ed the ocean, where new perils awaited him. These he likewise surmounted, and got safe to the Spanish settlement in the island Cubagua; from thence he sailed to Spain. The vanity natural to travellers who visit regions unknown to the rest of mankind, and the art of an adventurer, solicitous to magnify his own merit, concurred in prompting him to mingle an extraordinary proportion of the marvellous in the narrative of his voyage. He pretended to have discovered nations so rich, that the roofs of their temples were covered with plates of gold; and described a republic of women so warlike and powerful, as to have extended their dominion over a considerable tract of the fertile plains which he had visited. Extravagant as those tales were, they gave rise to an opinion, that a region abounding with gold, distinguished by the name of *El Dorado*, and a community of Amazons, were to be found in this part of the New World; and such is the propensity of mankind to believe what is wonderful, that it has been slowly, and with difficulty, that reason and observation have exploded those fables. The voyage, however, even when stripped of every romantic embellishment, deserves to be recorded, not only as one of the most memorable occurrences in that adventurous age, but as the first event that led to any certain knowledge of those immense regions that stretch eastward from the Andes to the ocean.

No words can describe the consternation of Pizarro, when he did not find the bark at the confluence of the Napo and Maragnon, where he had ordered Orellana to wait for him. He would not allow himself to suspect that a man, whom

whom he had entrusted with such an important command, could be so base and so unfeeling as to desert him at such a juncture. But imputing his absence from the place of rendezvous to some unknown accident, he advanced above 50 leagues along the banks of the Maragnon, expecting every moment to see the bark appear with a supply of provisions. At length he came up with an officer whom Orellana had left to perish in the desert, because he had the courage, to remonstrate against his perfidy. From him he learnt the extent of Orellana's crime; and his followers perceived at once their own desperate situation, when deprived of their only resource. The spirit of the stoutest hearted veteran sunk within him; and all demanded to be led back instantly. Pizarro, though he assumed an appearance of tranquillity, did not oppose their inclination. But he was now 1200 miles from Quito; and in that long march the Spaniards encountered hardships greater than those they had endured in their progress outward, without the alluring hopes which then soothed and animated them under their sufferings. Hunger compelled them to feed on roots and berries, to eat all their dogs and horses, to devour the most loathsome reptiles, and even to gnaw the leather of their saddles and sword belts. Four thousand Indians, and 210 Spaniards, perished in this wild and disastrous expedition, which continued near two years; and as 50 men were aboard the bark with Orellana, only 80 got back to Quito. These were naked like savages, and so emaciated with famine, or worn out with fatigue, that they had more the appearance of spectres than of men.

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But, instead of returning to enjoy the repose which his condition required, Pizarro, on entering Quito, received accounts of a fatal event that threatened calamities more dreadful to him than those through which he had passed. From the time that his brother made that partial division of his conquests which has been mentioned, the adherents of Almagro, considering themselves as proscribed by the party in power, no longer entertained any hope of bettering their condition. Great numbers in despair, resorted to Lima, where the house of young Almagro was always open to them: and the slender portion of his father's fortune, which the governor allowed him to enjoy, was spent in affording them subsistence. The warm attachment with which every person who served under the elder Almagro devoted himself to his interests, was quickly transferred to his son, who was now grown up to the age of manhood, and possessed all the qualities which captivate the affections of soldiers. Of a graceful appearance, dexterous at all martial exercises, bold, open, generous, he seemed to be formed for command; and as his father, conscious of his own inferiority from the total want of education, had been extremely attentive to have him instructed in every science becoming a gentleman, the accomplishments which he had acquired, heightened the respect of his followers, as they gave him distinction and eminence among illiterate adventurers. In this young man the Almagrians found a point of union which they wanted; and looking up to him as their head, were ready to undertake any thing for his advancement.

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Nor was affection for Almagro their only incitement ; they were urged on by their own distresses. Many of them, destitute of common necessities, and weary of loitering away life, a burden to their chief, or to such of their associates as had saved some remnant of their fortune from pillage and confiscation, longed impatiently for an occasion to exert their activity and courage, and began to deliberate how they might be avenged on the author of all their misery. Their frequent cabals did not pass unobserved ; and the governor was warned to be on his guard against men who meditated some desperate deed, and had resolution to execute it. But, either from the native intrepidity of his mind, or from contempt of persons whose poverty rendered their machinations of little consequence, he disregarded the admonitions of his friends. “ Be in no pain (said he carelessly) about my life ; it is perfectly safe, as long as every man in Peru knows that I can in a moment put him to death who dares to harbour a thought against it.” This security gave the Almagrians full leisure to digest and ripen every part of their scheme ; and Juan de Herrada, an officer of great abilities, who had the charge of Almagro’s education, took the lead in their consultations, with all the zeal which that connection inspired, and with all the authority which the ascendant that he was known to have over the mind of his pupil gave him.

On Sunday, the 26th of June, at mid-day, the season of tranquillity and repose in all sultry climates, Herrada, at the head of 18 of the most determined conspirators, sallied out of Almagro’s house in complete armour ; and drawing their
swords

swords as they advanced hastily towards the governor's palace, cried out, "Long live the king, but let the tyrant die." Their associates, warned of their motions by a signal, were in arms at different stations ready to support them. Though Pizarro was usually surrounded by such a numerous train of attendants as suited the magnificence of the most opulent subject of the age in which he lived, yet as he was just risen from the table, and most of his own domestics had retired to their own apartments, the conspirators passed through the two outer courts of the palace unobserved. They were at the bottom of the staircase, before a page in waiting could give the alarm to his master, who was conversing with a few friends in a large hall. The governor, whose steady mind no form of danger could appal, starting up, called for arms, and commanded Francisco de Chaves to make fast the door. But that officer, who did not retain so much presence of mind as to obey this prudent order, running to the top of the staircase, wildly asked the conspirators what they meant, and whither they were going? Instead of answering, they stabbed him to the heart, and burst into the hall. Some of the persons who were there, threw themselves from the window; others attempted to fly; and a few drawing their swords, followed their leader into an inner apartment. The conspirators, animated with having the object of their vengeance now in view, rushed forward after them. Pizarro, with no other arms than his sword and buckler, defended the entry, and supported by his half-brother Alcantara and his little knot of friends, maintained the unequal contest

contest with intrepidity worthy of his past exploits, and with the vigour of a youthful combatant. “ Courage (cried he), companions, we are yet enow to make thole traitors repent of their audacity.” But the armour of the conspirators protected them, while every thrust they made took effect. Alcantara fell dead at his brother’s feet; his other defendants were mortally wounded. The governor, so weary, that he could hardly wield his sword, and no longer able to parry the many weapons furiously aimed at him, received a deadly thrust full in his throat, sunk to the ground, and expired.

As soon as he was slain, the assassins ran out into the streets, and waving their bloody swords, proclaimed the death of the tyrant. Above 200 of their associates having joined them, they conducted young Almagro in solemn procession through the city; and assembling the magistrates and principal citizens, compelled them to acknowledge him as lawful successor to his father in his government. The palace of Pizarro, together with the houses of several of his adherents, were pillaged by the foldiers; who had the satisfaction at once of being avenged on their enemies, and of enriching themselves by the spoils of those through whose hands all the wealth of Peru had passed.

The new governor marched into the heart of the empire, in order to reduce such places as refused to acknowledge his authority. A multitude of ruffians joined him on his march. His army breathed nothing but vengeance and plunder: every thing gave way before it. If the military talents of the general had equalled the ardour

ardour of his troops, the war had ended here. Unhappily for Almagro, he had lost his conductor John de Herrada. His inexperience made him fall into the snares that were laid for him by Pedro Alvares, who had put himself at the head of the opposite party. He lost, in attempting to unravel his plots that time that he ought to have employed in fighting. In these circumstances, an event, which no one could have foreseen, happened to change the face of affairs.

The licentiate Vaca di Castro, who had been sent from Europe to try the murderers of old Almagro, arrived at Peru. As he was appointed to assume the government in case Pizarro was no more, all who had not sold themselves to the tyrant hastened to acknowledge him. Uncertainty and jealousy, which had for too long a time kept them dispersed, were no longer an obstacle to their re-union. Castro, who was as resolute as if he had grown old in the service, did not suffer their impatience to languish, but instantly led them against the enemy. The two armies engaged at Chapas on the 16th of September 1542, and fought with inexpressible obstinacy. Victory, after having wavered a long time, at the close of the day decided in favour of that party whose cause was the most just. Those among the rebels who were most guilty, dreading to languish under disgraceful tortures, provoked the conquerors to murder them, crying out, like men in despair, *It was I who killed Pizarro*. Their chief was taken prisoner, and died on the scaffold.

While these scenes of horror were transacting in America, the Spaniards in Europe were em-

ployed in finding out expedients to terminate them; though no measures had been taken to prevent them. Peru had only been made subject to the audience of Panama, which was too remote to superintend the maintainance of good order, and had too little influence to make its decrees respected. A supreme tribunal was then established at Lima for the dispensation of justice, which was to be invested with authority sufficient to enforce and to reward a due obedience to the laws. Blasco Nunez Vela, who presided in it as viceroy, arrived in 1544, attended by his subordinates in office, and found every thing in the most dreadful disorder.

To put an end to these tumults which now subsisted, would have required a profound genius, and many other qualities which are seldom united. Nunez had none of these advantages. Nature had only given him probity, firmness, and ardour; and he had taken no pains to improve these gifts. With these virtues, which were almost defects in his situation, he began to fulfil his commission, without regard to places, persons, or circumstances.

Contrary to the opinion of all intelligent persons who wished that he should wait for fresh instructions from Europe, he published ordinances, which declared that the lands the conquerors had seized should not pass to their descendants, and which dispossessed those who had taken part in the civil commotions. All the Peruvians who had been enslaved by monks, bishops, and persons belonging to the government, were declared free. Those who belonged to other masters were to be freed from their shackles at the death
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of their oppressors. They could no longer be compelled to bury themselves in the mines, nor could any kind of labour be exacted from them without payment. Their tribute was fixed. The Spaniards who travelled on foot were deprived of the right of taking three Indians to carry their baggage; and those who travelled on horseback, of the right of taking five. The caciques were discharged from the obligation of furnishing the traveller and his retinue with provisions gratis. Other tyrannical establishments also would soon have been proscribed; and the conquered people were on the eve of being sheltered under the protection of laws, which would at least have tempered the rigours of the right of conquest, if even they had not entirely repaired the injustice of them; but it should seem that the Spanish government was only to be unfortunate in the good it attempted to effect.

A change so unexpected filled those with consternation who saw their fortunes wrested from them, or who lost the flattering hope of transmitting them to their posterity. Even those who were not affected by these interested views, being accustomed to look upon the Indians as the instruments and victims of their avarice, had no conception that any other ideas could prevail concerning them. From astonishment they proceeded to indignation, murmuring, and sedition. The viceroy was degraded, put in irons, and banished to a desert island, till he could be conveyed to Spain.

Gonzales Pizarro was then returned from his hazardous expedition, which had employed him long enough to prevent him from taking a part
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in those revolutions which had so rapidly succeeded each other. The anarchy he found prevailing at his return, inspired him with the idea of seizing the supreme authority. His fame and his forces made it impossible that this should be refused him; but his usurpation was marked with so many enormities, that Nunez was regretted. He was recalled from exile, and soon collected a sufficient number of forces to enable him to take the field. Civil commotions were then renewed with extreme fury by both parties. No quarter was asked or given on either side. The Indians took part in this as they had done in the preceding wars; some ranged themselves under the standard of the viceroy, others under the banners of Gonzales. From 15,000 to 20,000 of these unhappy wretches, who were scattered about in each army, dragged up the artillery, levelled the roads, carried the baggage, and destroyed one another. Their conquerors had taught them to be sanguinary. After a variety of advantages for a long time alternately obtained, fortune at length favoured the rebellion under the walls of Quito in the month of January, in the year 1545; and Nunez with the greatest part of his men were massacred.

Pizarro took the road of Lima, where they were deliberating on the ceremonies with which they should receive him. Some officers wished that a canopy should be carried for him to march under, after the manner of kings. Others, with adulation still more extravagant, pretended that part of the walls of the town, and even some houses, must be pulled down; as was the custom at Rome, when a general obtained the honours of a triumph. Gonzales contented himself with
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making his entrance on horseback, preceded by his lieutenant, who marched on foot. Four bishops accompanied him, and he was followed by the magistrates. The streets were strewn with flowers, and the air resounded with the noise of bells and various musical instruments. This homage totally turned the head of a man naturally haughty, and of confined ideas. He spoke and acted in the most despotic manner.

Had Gonzales possessed judgment and the appearance of moderation, it would have been possible for him to render himself independent. The principal persons of his party wished it. The majority would have beheld this event with indifference, and the rest would have been obliged to consent to it. Blind cruelties, insatiable avarice, and unbounded pride, altered these dispositions. Even those, whose interests were connected with those of the tyrant, wished for a deliverer.

Such a deliverer arrived from Europe in the person of the licentiate Pedro di la Gasca. The squadron and the provinces of the mountains immediately declared for a person who was invested with a lawful authority to govern them. Those who lived concealed in deserts, caverns, and forests, quitted their retreats to join him. Gonzales, who saw no resource left to support him but in some great achievement, took the road of Cuzco, with a resolution to give battle. At some leagues distance from this place he met the royal army, and attacked it on the 9th of June 1548. One of his lieutenants, seeing him abandoned at the first charge by his best soldiers, advised him to throw himself into the enemy's battalions,

talions, and perish like a Roman : but this weak man chose rather to surrender, and end his life on a scaffold. Carvajal, a more able warrior, and more ferocious than himself, was quartered. This man, when he was expiring, boasted that he had massacred with his own hand 1400 Spaniards and 20,000 Indians.

Such was the last scene of a tragedy, of which every act has been marked with blood. The government was moderate enough not to continue the proscriptions ; and the remembrance of the horrid calamities they had suffered kept the Spaniards in the bounds of subjection. What still remained of that commotion that had been raised in their minds, insensibly sunk into a calm ; and the country hath remained in quiet ever since.

With regard to the Peruvians, the most cruel measures were taken to render it impossible for them to rebel. Tupac Amaru, the heir of their last king, had taken refuge in some remote mountains, where he lived in peace. There he was so closely surrounded by the troops which had been sent out against him, that he was forced to surrender. The viceroy Francis de Toledo caused him to be accused of several crimes that he had not committed, and for which he was beheaded in 1571. All the other descendants of the Incas shared the same fate, under pretence that they had conspired against their conquerors. The horror of these enormities excited so universal an indignation both in the Old and the New World, that Philip II. thought himself obliged to disavow them ; but the infamous policy of this prince was so notorious, that no credit was given to this appearance of his justice and humanity.

CHAP.

CHAP XIV.

Division of America—its Productions—its different Possessors—Vast Extent of the British Possessions before the late Revolution.

NOTWITHSTANDING the many settlements of the Europeans in this continent, great part of America remains still unknown. The northern continent contains the British colonies of Hudson's-Bay, Canada, and Nova-Scotia: The New-England states, and those of New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North, and South, Carolina, and Georgia. It contains, also, the Spanish territories of East and West Florida, Louisiana, New-Mexico, California, and Mexico. Besides these, there are immense regions to the west, and north, the boundaries of which have never yet been discovered. In such as are in any degree known, dwell the Esquimaux, the Algonquins, the Hurons, the Iroquois, the Chorokee, the Chickasaws, and many other tribes of Indians. In the southern lie the Spanish provinces of Terra Firma. Guiana, Peru, Paraguay, and Chili; together with that of Brasil, belonging to the Portuguese; and the country of Surinam, belonging to the Dutch. Vast tracts, however, in the inland parts are unknown, being comprehended under the general name of *Amazonia*. A large district, also, said to be the residence of a gigantic race of men, lies on the east side of the continent,

continent, between the straits of Magellan and the province of Paraguay.

This vast country produces many of the metals, minerals, plants, fruits, trees, and wood to be met with in the other parts of the world, and many of them in greater quantities, and in high perfection. The gold and silver of America have supplied Europe with such immense quantities of those valuable metals, that they are become vastly more common; so that the gold and silver of Europe now bear little proportion to the high price set upon them before the discovery of America.

It also produces diamonds, pearls, emeralds, amethysts, and other valuable stones, which, by being brought into Europe, have contributed, likewise, to lower their value. To these, which are chiefly the productions of Spanish America, may be added a great number of other commodities, which, though of less price, are of much greater use. Of these are the plentiful supplies of cochineal, indigo, anatto, logwood, brazil, fustic, pimento, lignum vitæ, rice, ginger, cocoa, or the chocolate-nut, sugar, cotton, tobacco, banillas, red-wood, the balsams of Tolu, Peru, and Chili, that valuable article, in medicine, the Jesuit's bark, machoacan, saffrafras, sarsaparilla, cassia, tamarinds, hides, furs, ambergris, and a great variety of woods, roots and plants; to which, before the discovery of America, the Europeans were entire strangers, or which they were forced to buy at an extravagant rate from Asia and Africa, through the hands of the Venetians and Genoese, who then engrossed the trade of the Eastern-World.

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On this continent there grows also a variety of excellent native fruits ; as pine-apples, citrons, lemons, oranges, malicacions, figs, grapes, great numbers of culinary, medicinal, and other herbs, roots, and plants, with many exotic productions, which are nourished in as great perfection as in their native soil.

Although the Indians still live in the quiet possession of many large tracts, America, so far as known, is chiefly claimed, and divided into colonies, by three European nations, the Spaniards, English and Portuguese. The Spaniards, as they first discovered it, have the largest and richest portion, extending from New-Mexico, and Louisiana, in North-America, to the Straits of Magellan, in the South-Sea, excepting the large province of Brasil, which belongs to Portugal ; for though the French and Dutch have some forts upon the Surinam and Guiana, they scarcely deserve to be considered as proprietors of any part of the southern continent.

Next to Spain, the most considerable proprietor of America was Great Britain, who derived her claim to North-America from the first discovery of that continent by Sebastian Cabot, in the name of Henry VII. *anno* 1497, about six years after the discovery of South-America by Columbus, in the name of the king of Spain. This country was in general called *Newfound-land* ; a name which is now appropriated solely to an island upon its coast. It was a long time before the English made any attempt to settle in this country. Sir Walter Raleigh, an uncommon genius, and a brave commander, first showed the way,

way, by planting a colony in the southern part, which he called *Virginia*, in honour of his virgin mistress, Queen Elizabeth.

The French indeed, from this period until the conclusion of the war before last, laid a claim to, and actually possessed Canada, and Louisiana; comprehending all that extensive inland country, reaching from Hudson's-Bay, on the north, to Mexico and the gulph of the same name, on the south. But, in that war, they were not only driven from Canada and its dependencies, but obliged to relinquish all that part of Louisiana lying on the east side of the Mississippi. And thus the British colonies were preserved, secured, and extended so far, as to render it difficult to ascertain the precise bounds of the empire of Great-Britain in North-America. To the northward they might have extended their claims quite to the pole itself, nor did any nation seem inclined to dispute the property of this northernmost country with them. From that extremity they had a territory extending southward, to Cape Florida in the Gulph of Mexico, N. Lat. 25°, and consequently near 4000 miles long in a direct line. And to the westward, their boundaries reached to nations unknown even to the Indians of Canada.

Of the revolution that has since taken place, by which a great part of those territories has been torn from the British empire, the history follows in the next book.

HISTORY

H I S T O R Y

OF THE

American Revolution.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

State and Character of the British Colonies at the end of the War, 1763—Cause of the Disturbances—Proceedings in the Colonies, previous to the Commencement of Hostilities.

OF the rise and establishment of this republic, which has given a new face to the western world, a succinct and impartial narrative shall in this article be attempted; in which, however, we cannot hope entirely to avoid errors, as they are perhaps unavoidable. The accounts from which the historian must derive his information are not yet cleared from the mistakes of prejudice

prejudice, and the fabrications of Party; when they differ, their comparative authenticity is with difficulty ascertained; and they want, above all, that softening which they can receive from time alone.

The beginnings even of the most celebrated political institutions of the old world, are generally involved in fable and obscurity: The barbarous manners of savage tribes in the early and uncultivated state of society, renders the researches of the historian painful and unsatisfactory. Very different were the circumstances which gave birth to this new republic, which at a future period, bids fair to surpass even the splendor of Rome.

The state of the British colonies at the conclusion of the war in 1763, was such as attracted the attention of all the politicians in Europe. Their flourishing condition at that period was remarkable and striking; their trade had prospered in the midst of all the difficulties and distresses of a war in which they were so nearly and so immediately concerned. Their population continued on the increase, notwithstanding the ravages and depredations that had been so fiercely carried on by the French, and the native Indians in their alliance. They abounded with spirited and active individuals of all denominations. They were flushed with the uncommon prosperity that had attended them in their commercial affairs and military transactions. Hence they were ready for all kind of undertakings, and saw no limits to their hopes and expectations.

As they entertained the highest opinion of their value and importance, and of the immense benefit

benefit that Britain derived from its connection with them, their notions were adequately high in their own favour. They deemed themselves, not without reason, entitled to every kindness and indulgence which the mother country could bestow.

Although their pretensions did not amount to a perfect equality of advantages and privileges in matters of commerce, yet in those of government they thought themselves fully competent to the task of conducting their domestic concerns, with little or no interference from abroad. Though willing to admit the supremacy of Great Britain, they viewed it with a suspicious eye and with a marked desire to restrain it within its strict constitutional boundaries.

Their improvements in all the necessary and useful arts did honor to their industry and ingenuity. Though they did not live in the luxury of Europe, they had all the solid and substantial enjoyments of life, and were not unacquainted with many of its elegancies and refinements.

A circumstance much to their praise is, that notwithstanding their peculiar addiction to those occupations of which lucre is the sole object, they were duly attentive to cultivate the field of learning; and they have, ever since their first foundation, been particularly careful to provide for the education of the rising progeny.

Their vast augmentation of internal trade and external commerce, was not merely owing to their position and facility of communication with other parts: it arose also from their natural turn and temper, full of schemes and projects; ever
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aiming at new discoveries, and continually employed in the search of the means of improving their condition.

Their condition carried them into every quarter from whence profit could be derived. There was scarcely any part of the American hemisphere to which they had not extended their navigation. They were continually exploring new sources of trade, and were found in every spot where business could be transacted.

To this extensive and incessant application to commerce, they added an equal vigilance in the administration of their affairs at home. Whatever could conduce to the amelioration of the soil they possessed, to the progress of agriculture, or to the improvement of their domestic circumstances, was attended to with so much labour and care, that it may be strictly said that Nature had given them nothing of which they did not make the most.

In the midst of this solicitude and toil in matters of business, the affairs of government were conducted with steadiness, prudence, and lenity, seldom experienced, and never exceeded, in the best regulated countries of Europe.

Such was the situation of the British colonies in general throughout North-America, and of the New-England provinces in particular, when the pacification above-mentioned opened one of the most remarkable scenes that ever commanded the attention of the world.

In treating of the American revolution, it has become a fashion with the English writers to ascribe that event to the successful intrigues of the French government. Instead of contemplating

ing it, with the characteristic philosophy of their country, as the result of the contest between the desire of power, and the abhorrence of oppression, they have sought the origin of the evil in any source rather than their own misconduct; and have endeavoured at once, to hush the reproaches of their political conscience, and to gratify the cravings of their national animosity, in wild conjectures of a scheme formed by their neighbours to divide the British Empire, and in declamatory invectives against the Gallic faith and honour. Thus it has been repeatedly asserted, that the French having long viewed, with equal envy and apprehension, the flourishing state of the colonies which Britain had founded in America, began immediately after the peace of Paris, to carry into execution their project for separating those colonies from the mother country. Secret emissaries, it is said, were employed in spreading dissatisfaction among the colonies; and the effects produced by these machinating spirits are described to have been a rapid diminution of that peculiar warmth of attachment, which the inhabitants of North-America had hitherto demonstrated for the mother country; the excitement of a jealousy which led them to view her rather in the light of a sovereign than of a parent; and the introduction of a hostile policy which taught them to examine, with a scrupulous nicety, the nature of those ties that rendered them parts of her empire. That such emissaries were ever employed, is a fact unsupported by any document which the purity of historical truth can admit; and although the effects here described, have certainly appeared, it
must

must be remembered that their appearance followed, but did not precede, the attempts of Britain upon the rights and liberties of America. By mere artifice and address to have alienated the affections of the colonists from their mother country, at the close of a war in which their interests and feelings had been interwoven with more than usual strength and energy, was a task of infinite difficulty ; not surely to be accomplished in the short period between the declaration of peace in 1763, and the promulgation of the first obnoxious acts of the British parliament in 1764. But, if we trace these effects to another cause, to a love of liberty, and a quick sense of injury, their appearance will be natural and just ; consistent with the American character, and corresponding with the conduct which was displayed in all the vicissitudes that attended the revolt.

In March, 1764, a bill was passed, by which heavy duties were laid on goods imported by the colonists from such West-India Islands as did not belong to Great Britain ; at the same time that these duties were to be paid into the exchequer in specie ; and in the same session, another bill was framed to restrain the currency of paper money in the colonies themselves. Not only the principle of taxation, but the mode of collection was considered as an unconstitutional and oppressive innovation ; for the penalties incurred by an infraction of the acts of parliament, might be recovered in the courts of admiralty before a single judge (whose salary was the fruit of the forfeitures he decreed) without trial by jury, or any of the other benefits of common law jurisprudence. These acts coming so close to
each

each other threw the whole continent into the utmost ferment. Vehement remonstrances were made to the ministry, and every argument made use of, that reason or ingenuity could suggest, but to no purpose. Their reasoning, however, convinced a great number of people in Britain; and thus the American cause came to be considered as the cause of liberty.

The Americans, finding all argumentation vain, at last united in an agreement to import no more of the manufactures of Great Britain, but to encourage to the utmost of their power every thing of that kind among themselves. Thus the British manufacturers also became a party against the ministry, and did not fail to express their resentment in the strongest terms; but the ministry were not to be so easily daunted, and therefore proceeded to the last step of their intended plan, which was to lay on stamp duties throughout the continent. Previous to this indeed, several regulations were passed in favour of the commerce of the colonies; but they had now imbibed such unfavourable sentiments of the British ministry, that they paid very little regard to any thing pretended to be done in their favour; or if these acts made any favourable impression, it was quickly obliterated by the news of the stamp-act. The reason given for this act, so exceedingly obnoxious, was, that a sum might be raised sufficient for the defence of the colonies against a foreign enemy; but this pretence was so far from giving any satisfaction to the Americans, that it excited their indignation to the utmost degree. They not only asserted that they were abundantly able to defend themselves against any foreign enemy,

enemy, but denied that the British parliament had any right to tax them at all.

It would be superfluous to enter into any arguments used by the contending parties on this important occasion. It was evident that the matter was not to be decided by argument, but by force of arms; and the British ministry, too confident of the authority and power of that country, determined to carry on matters with an high hand, to terrify the colonists into an implicit subjection, or, if that would not do, to compel them to it by force. The stamp-act, after a violent opposition in parliament, was passed, and its reception in America was such as might have been expected. The news, and the act itself, first arrived at Boston, where the bells were muffled and rung a funeral peal. The act was first hawked about the streets with a Death's head, affixed to it, and styled the "Folly of England, and the Ruin of America;" and afterwards publicly burnt by the enraged populace: The stamps themselves were seized and destroyed, unless brought by men of war, or kept in fortified places; those who were to receive the stamp duties were compelled to resign their offices; and such of the Americans as sided with government on this occasion, had their houses plundered and destroyed.

Though these outrages were committed by the multitude, they were first connived at by those of superior rank, and the principles on which they were founded afterwards openly patronized by them; and the doctrine became general and openly avowed, that Britain had no
right

right whatever to tax the colonies without their own consent.

It was now found absolutely necessary either to yield to the Americans, by repealing the obnoxious statutes, or to enforce them by arms. The ferment had diffused itself universally throughout the colonies. Virginia first, and after that all the rest of the provinces, declared against the right of Britain to lay on taxes in America; and that every attempt to vest others with this power besides the king, or the governor of the province and his general assembly, was illegal, unconstitutional, and unjust. Non-importation agreements were every where entered into; and it was even resolved to prevent the sale of any more British goods after the present year. American manufactures, though dearer as well as inferior in quality to the British, were universally preferred. An association was entered into against eating of lamb, in order to promote the growth of wool; and the ladies with cheerfulness agreed to renounce the use of every species of ornament manufactured in Britain. Such a general and alarming confederacy determined the ministry to repeal some of the most obnoxious statutes; and to this they were the more inclined by a petition from the first American congress, held at New-York in the beginning of October 1765.

The stamp-act was therefore repealed, to the universal joy of the Americans, and indeed to the general satisfaction of the English, whose manufactures had begun to suffer very severely in consequence of the American association, against them. The disputes on the subject without

out doors, however, were by no means silenced, but each party continued to argue the case as violently as ever. The celebrated Dr Benjamin Franklin was, on this occasion examined before the House of Commons; and his opinion was in substance as follows:

“ That the tax in question was impracticable and ruinous. The very attempt had so far alienated the affection of the colonies, that they behaved in a less friendly manner towards the natives of England than before; considering the whole nation as conspiring against their liberty, and the parliament as willing rather to oppress than to support and assist them. America, in fact, did not stand in any need of British manufactures, having already begun to construct such as might be deemed absolutely necessary, and that with such success, as left no doubt of their arriving in a short time at perfection. The elegancies of dress had already been renounced for manufactures of the American kind, though much inferior; and the bulk of the people, consisting of farmers, were such as could in no way be affected by the want of British commodities, as having every necessary within themselves. Materials of all kinds were to be had in great plenty; the wool was fine; flax grew in great abundance; and iron was every where to be met with.”

The doctor also insisted, That “ the Americans had been greatly misrepresented; that they had been traduced as void of gratitude and affection for the parent state; than which nothing could be more contrary to truth, In the war of 1755 they had, at their own expense, raised an
army

army of 25,000 men; and in that of 1739, they assisted the British expeditions against South-America with several thousand men, and had made many brave exertions against the French in North America. It was said that the war of 1755 had been undertaken in the defence of the colonies; but the truth was, that it originated from a contest about the limits between Canada and Nova-Scotia, and in defence of the English rights to trade on the Ohio. The Americans, however, would still continue to act with their usual fidelity; and, were any war to break out in which they had no concern, they would show themselves as ready as ever to assist the parent state to the utmost of their power, and would never fail to manifest their readiness in contributing to the emergencies of government when called to do so in a regular and constitutional manner."

The ministry were conscious, that in repealing this obnoxious act, they yielded to the Americans; and therefore, to support, as they thought, the dignity of Great Britain, it was judged proper to publish a declaratory bill, setting forth the authority of the mother-country over her colonies, and her power to bind them by laws and statutes *in all cases whatever*. This much diminished the joy with which the repeal of the stamp-act was received in America. It was considered as a proper reason to enforce any claims equally prejudicial with the stamp-act, which might hereafter be set up; a spirit of jealousy pervaded the whole continent, and a strong party was formed, watchful on every occasion to guard against the encroachments of the British power.

It was not long before an occasion offered, in which the Americans manifested a spirit of independency; and that instead of being bound by the British legislature in all cases, they would not be controled by it in the most trivial affairs. The Rockingham ministry, had passed an act, providing the troops stationed in different parts of the colonies with such accommodations as were necessary for them. The assembly of New York, however, took upon them to alter the mode of execution prescribed by the act of parliament, and to substitute one of their own. This gave very great offence to the new ministry, and rendered them, though composed of those who had been active against the stamp-bill, less favourable to the colonies than in all probability they would otherwise have been. An unlucky circumstance at the same time occurred, which threw every thing once more into confusion. One of the new ministry, Mr. Charles Townshend, having declared that he could find a way of taxing the Americans without giving offence, was called upon to propose his plan. This was by imposing a duty upon tea, paper, painters colours, and glass imported into America. The conduct of the New York assembly, respecting the troops, and that of Boston, which had proceeded in a similar manner, caused this bill to meet with less opposition than otherwise it might have done. As a punishment to the refractory assemblies, the legislative power was taken from that of New York, until it should fully comply with the terms of the act. That of Boston at last submitted with reluctance. The bill for the
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new taxes was quickly passed, and sent to America in 1768.

A ferment much greater than that occasioned by the stamp-act now took place throughout the continent. The populace renewed their outrages, and those of superior station entered into regular associations against it. Circular letters were sent from Massachusetts colony to all the rest, setting forth the injustice and impropriety of the behaviour of the British legislature. Meetings were held in all the principal towns, in which it was proposed to lessen the consumption of foreign manufactures, by giving proper encouragement to their own. Continual disputes ensued betwixt the governors and general assemblies of their provinces, which were much heightened by a letter from lord Shelburne to governor Bernard of Massachusetts-Bay, containing complaints of the people he governed. The assembly exasperated to the highest degree, charged their governor with having misrepresented them to the court of Britain, required him to produce copies of the letters he had sent; and, on his refusal, wrote letters to the English ministry, accusing him of misrepresentation and partiality, complaining at the same time most grievously of the proceedings of parliament, as utterly subversive of the liberties of America, and the rights of British subjects.

The governor, at a loss how to defend himself, prorogued the assembly; and in his speech on the occasion, gave a loose to his resentment, accusing the members of ambitious designs, incompatible with those of dutiful and loyal subjects. To counteract the circular letter of the province

province of Massachusetts-Bay, Lord Hillsborough, secretary for the American department, sent another to the governors of the different colonies, reprobating the other as full of misrepresentation, and tending to excite a rebellion against the authority of the parent state.

Matters now hastened to a crisis. The governor had been ordered to proceed with vigour, and by no means to show any disposition to yield to the people as formerly. In particular they were desired to rescind that resolution by which they had written the circular letter above mentioned; and, in case of a refusal, it was told them, that they would be dissolved. As this letter had been framed by the resolutions of a former house, they desired, after a week's consultation, that a recess might be granted to consult with their constituents; but this being refused, they came to a determination, 92 against 17, to adhere to the resolution which produced the circular letter. At the same time a letter was sent to Lord Hillsborough, and a message to the governor, in justification of their proceedings. In both they expressed themselves with such freedom as was by no means calculated to accord with the sentiments of those in power. They insisted that they had a right to communicate their sentiments to their fellow subjects upon matters of such importance; complained of the requisition to rescind the circular letter as unconstitutional and unjust; and particularly insisted, that they were represented as harbouring seditious designs, when they were doing nothing but what was lawful and right. At the same time they condemned the late acts of parliament

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as highly oppressive and subversive of liberty. The whole was concluded with a list of accusations against their governor, representing him as unfit to continue in his station, and petitioning the king for his removal from it.

These proceedings were followed by a violent tumult at Boston. A vessel belonging to a capital trader had been seized in consequence of his having neglected some of the new regulations; and being taken under the protection of a man of war at that time lying in the harbour, the populace attacked the houses of the commissioners of excise, broke their windows, destroyed the collector's boats and obliged the custom-house officers to take refuge in Castle William, situated at the entrance of the harbour.

The governor now took the last step in his power to put a stop to the violent proceedings of his assembly, by dissolving it entirely; but this was of little moment. Their behaviour had been highly approved by the other colonies, who had written letters to them expressive of their approbation. After the dissolution of the assembly, frequent meetings of the people were held in Boston, which ended in a remonstrance to the governor, to the same purpose as some of the former; but concluding with a request, that he would take upon him to order the king's ships out of the harbour.

While the disposition of the Bostonians was thus more and more irritated, news arrived that the agent for the colony had not been allowed to deliver their petition to the king; it having been objected, that the assembly without the governor

was

was not sufficient authority. This did not contribute to allay the ferment; and it was further augmented by the news that a number of troops had been ordered to repair to Boston, to keep the inhabitants in awe.

A dreadful alarm now took place. The people called on the governor to convene a general assembly, in order to remove their fears of the military; who, they said, were to be assembled to overthrow their liberties, and force obedience to laws to which they were entirely averse. The governor replied, it was no longer in his power to call an assembly; having, in his last instructions from England, been required to wait the king's orders, the matter being then under consideration at home. Being thus refused, the people took upon themselves the formation of an assembly, which they called a *convention*. The proceedings and resolutions of this body naturally partook of the temper and disposition of the late assembly; but they went a step farther, and having voted "that there is apprehension in the minds of many of an approaching rupture with France," requested the inhabitants to put themselves in a posture of defence against any sudden attack of an enemy; and circular letters were directed to all the towns in the province, acquainting them with the resolutions that had been taken in the capital, and exhorting them to proceed in the same manner. The town of Hatfield alone refused its concurrence. The convention, however, thought proper to assure the governor of their pacific intentions, and renewed their request that an assembly might be called; but being refused any audience, and threatened

threatened with being treated as rebels, they at last thought proper to dissolve of themselves, and sent over to Britain a circumstantial account of their proceedings, with the reason of their having assembled in the manner already mentioned.

The expected troops arrived on the very day on which the convention broke up, and had some houses in the town fitted up for their reception. Their arrival had a considerable influence on the people, and for some time seemed to put a stop to their disturbances; but the spirit of the people was now so much roused, that it was impossible to quench the flame. The late outrageous behaviour in Boston had given the greatest offence in England; and, notwithstanding all the efforts of opposition, an address from both houses of parliament was presented to the king; in which the behaviour of the colony of Massachusetts-Bay was set forth in the most ample manner, and the most vigorous measures recommended for reducing them to obedience. The Americans, however, continued stedfast in the ideas they had adopted. Though the troops had for some time quieted the disturbances, yet the calm continued no longer than they appeared respectable on account of their number; but as soon as this was diminished by the departure of a large detachment, the remainder were treated with contempt, and it was even resolved to expel them altogether. The country people took up arms for this purpose, and were to have assisted their friends in Boston; but before this design could be put in execution, an event happened which put an end to every idea of reconciliation betwixt the contending parties.

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On the 5th of October 1770, a scuffle happened between the soldiers and a party of the town's people. The inhabitants poured in from all quarters to the assistance of their fellow-citizens : a violent tumult ensued, during which the military fired upon the mob, killing and wounding several of them. The whole province now arose in arms, and the soldiers were obliged to retire to Castle William to prevent their being cut in pieces. Let it be remembered, however, to the praise of American virtue, that, on the trial, notwithstanding popular prejudice and apprehension, the captain and six of the men were acquitted, two men only being found guilty of manslaughter. In other respects the determinations of the Americans continued, if possible, more firm than ever, until at last government, determining to act with vigour, and at the same time to behave with as much condescension as possible, without abandoning their principles, repealed all the duties lately laid on, that of tea alone excepted. This was left on purpose to maintain the dignity of the crown of Britain; and it was thought that it could not be productive of any discontent in America, as being an affair of very little moment, the produce of which was not expected to exceed L. 16,000. The opposition, however, were strenuous in their endeavours to get this tax likewise abrogated; insisting that the Americans would consider it only as an inlet to others; and that the repeal of all the rest, without this would answer no good purpose. The event showed that their opinion was well founded. The Americans opposed the tea-tax with the same violence as they had done all the

the rest: and at last, on the news that salaries had been settled on the justices of the superior court at Boston, the governor was addressed on the subject; the measure was condemned in the strongest terms; and a committee selected out of the several districts of the colony appointed to inquire into it.

The new assembly proceeded in the most formal manner to disavow the supremacy of the British legislature; and accused the parliament of Britain of having violated the natural rights of Americans in a number of instances. Copies of the transactions of this assembly were transmitted to every town in Massachusetts, exhorting the inhabitants to rouse themselves, and exert every nerve in opposition to the iron-hand of oppression, which was daily tearing the choicest fruits from the fair tree of liberty. The disturbances were also greatly heightened by an accidental discovery that Mr. Hutchinson, governor of Massachusetts-Bay, had written several confidential letters to people in power in England, complaining of the behaviour of the province, recommending vigorous measures against them, and, among other things, asserting, that "there must be an abridgment of what is called British liberty." Letters of this kind had fallen into the hands of the agent for the colony at London. They were immediately transmitted to Boston, where the assembly was sitting, by whom they were laid before the governor, who was thus reduced to a very mortifying situation. Losing every idea of respect or friendship for him as their governor, they instantly despatched a petition to the king, requesting him to remove the governor

governor and deputy-governor from their places, but to this they not only received no favourable answer, but the petition itself was declared groundless and scandalous.

Matters were now ripe for the utmost extremities on the part of the Americans; and they were brought on in the following manner. Though the colonies had entered into a non-importation agreement against tea as well as all other commodities from Britain, it had nevertheless found its way into America, though in smaller quantity than before. This was sensibly felt by the East-India Company, who had now agreed to pay a large sum annually to government in recompence for which compliance, and to make up their losses in other respects, they were empowered to export their tea free from any duty payable in Britain; and in consequence of this permission, several ships freighted with the commodity were sent to North-America, and proper agents appointed for disposing of it. The Americans now perceiving that the tax was thus likely to be enforced whether they would or not, determined to take every possible method to prevent the tea from being landed, as well knowing that it would be impossible to hinder the sale, should the commodity once be brought on shore. For this purpose the people assembled in great numbers, forcing those to whom the tea was consigned to resign their offices, and to promise solemnly never to resume them; and committees were appointed to examine the accounts of merchants, and make public tests, declaring such as would not take them, enemies to their country. Nor was this behaviour confined to the colony
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of Massachusetts-Bay ; the rest of the provinces entered into the contest with the same warmth, and manifested the same resolution to oppose this invasion of their rights.

In the midst of this confusion, three ships laden with tea arrived in Boston ; but so much were the captains alarmed at the disposition which seemed to prevail among the people, that they offered, providing they could obtain the proper discharges from the tea consignees, custom-house, and governor, to return to Britain without landing their cargoes. The parties concerned, however, though they durst not order the tea to be landed, refused to grant the discharges required. The ships, therefore, would have been obliged to remain in the harbour ; but the people apprehensive that if they remained there the tea would be landed in small quantities and disposed of in spite of every endeavour to prevent it, resolved to destroy it at once. This resolution was executed with equal speed and secrecy. The very evening after the abovementioned discharges had been refused, a number of people dressed like Mohawk Indians boarded the ships, and threw into the sea their whole cargoes, consisting of 342 chests of tea ; after which they retired without making any further disturbance, or doing any other damage. No tea was destroyed in other places, though the same spirit was every where manifested. At Philadelphia the pilots were enjoined not to conduct the vessels up the river ; and at New-York, though the governor caused some tea to be landed under the protection of a man of war, he was obliged to deliver it up to the

the custody of the people to prevent its being sold.

The destruction of the tea at Boston, which happened in November 1773, was the immediate prelude to the disasters attending civil discord. Government finding themselves every where insulted and despised, resolved to enforce their authority by all possible means ; and, as Boston had been the principal scene of the riots and outrages, it was determined to punish that city in an exemplary manner. Parliament was acquainted by a message from his majesty with the undutiful behaviour of the city of Boston, as well as of all the colonies, recommending at the same time the most vigorous and spirited exertions to reduce them to obedience. The parliament in its address promised a ready compliance ; and, indeed, the Americans seemed now to have lost many of their partisans. It was proposed to lay a fine on the town of Boston equal to the price of the tea which had been destroyed, and to shut up its port by armed vessels until the refractory spirit of the inhabitants should be subdued ; which, it was thought, must quickly yield, as a total stop would thus be put to their trade. The bill was strongly opposed on the same grounds that the other had been ; and it was predicted, that, instead of having any tendency to reconcile or subdue the Americans, it would infallibly exasperate them beyond any possibility of a reconciliation. The petitions against it, presented by the colony's agent, pointed out the same consequence in the strongest terms, and in the most positive manner declared that the Americans never would submit to it ;
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but such was the infatuation attending every rank and degree of men, that it never was imagined the Americans would dare to resist the parent state openly, but would in the end submit implicitly to her commands. In this confidence, a third bill was proposed for the impartial administration of justice on such persons as might be employed in the suppression of riots and tumults in the province of Massachusetts-Bay. By this act it was provided, that should any persons acting in that capacity be indicted for murder, and not able to obtain a fair trial in the province, they might be sent by the governor to England, or to some other colony, if necessary, to be tried for the supposed crime.

These three bills having passed so easily, the ministry proposed a fourth, relative to the government of Canada; which, it was said, had not yet been settled on any proper plan. By this bill the extent of that province was greatly enlarged; its affairs were put under the direction of a council in which Roman Catholics were to be admitted; the Roman Catholic clergy were secured in their possessions and the usual perquisites from those of their own profession. The council above mentioned were to be appointed by the crown; to be removeable at its pleasure; and to be invested with every legislative power, excepting that of taxation.

No sooner were these laws made known in America, than they cemented the union of the colonies almost beyond any possibility of dissolving it. The assembly of Massachusetts-Bay had passed a vote against the judges accepting salaries

ries from the crown, and put the question, Whether they would accept them as usual from the general assembly? Four answered in the affirmative; but Peter Oliver, the chief-justice, refused. A petition against him, and an accusation, were brought before the governor; but the latter refused the accusation, and declined to interfere in the matter; but as they still insisted for justice against Mr. Oliver, the governor thought proper to put an end to the matter by dissolving the assembly.

In this situation of affairs, a new alarm was occasioned by the news of the port-bill. This had been totally unexpected, and was received with the most extravagant expressions of displeasure among the populace, and while these continued, the new governor, General Gage, arrived from England. He had been chosen to this office, on account of his being well acquainted with America, and generally agreeable to the people; but human wisdom could not now point out a method by which the flame could be allayed. The first act of his office as governor, was to remove the assembly to Salem, a town 17 miles distant, in consequence of the late act. When this was intimated to the assembly, they replied by requesting him to appoint a day for public humiliation for deprecating the wrath of heaven, but met with a refusal. When met at Salem, they passed a resolution, declaring the necessity of a general congress, composed of delegates from all the provinces, in order to take the affairs of the colonies at large into consideration: and five gentlemen remarkable for their opposition to the British measures, were chosen to represent

represent that of Massachusetts-Bay. They then proceeded with all expedition to draw up a declaration, containing a detail of the grievances they laboured under, and the necessity of exerting themselves against lawless power; they set forth the disregard shewn to their petitions, and the attempts of Great Britain to destroy their ancient constitution; and concluded with exhorting the inhabitants of the colony, to obstruct, by every method in their power, such evil designs, recommending at the same time a total renunciation of every thing imported from Great Britain, till a redress of grievances could be procured.

Intelligence of this declaration was carried to the governor on the very day that it was completed; on which he dissolved the assembly. This was followed by an address from the inhabitants of Salem in favour of those of Boston, and concluding with these remarkable words: "By shutting up the port of Boston, some imagine that the course of trade might be turned hither, and to our benefit; but nature, in the formation of our harbour, forbids our becoming rivals in commerce with that convenient mart, and were it otherwise, we must be dead to every idea of justice, lost to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge one thought to seize on wealth, and raise our fortunes on the ruin of our suffering neighbours."

It had been fondly hoped by the ministerial party at home, that the advantages which other towns of the colony might derive from the annihilation of the trade at Boston, would make them readily acquiesce in the measure of shutting up that port, and rather rejoice in it than otherwise;
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but the words of the address above-mentioned, seemed to preclude all hope of this kind; and subsequent transactions soon manifested it to be totally vain. No sooner did intelligence arrive of the remaining bills passed in the session of 1774, than the cause of Boston became the cause of all the colonies. The port-bill had already occasioned violent commotions throughout them all. It had been reprobated in provincial meetings, and resistance even to the last had been recommended against such oppression. In Virginia, the first of June, the day on which the port of Boston was to be shut up, was held as a day of humiliation, and a public intercession in favour of America, was enjoined. The style of the prayer enjoined at this time was, "that God would give the people one heart and one mind, firmly to oppose every invasion of the American rights." The Virginians, however, did not content themselves with acts of religion. They recommended in the strongest manner a general congress of all the colonies, as fully persuaded that an attempt to tax any colony in an arbitrary manner, was in reality an attack upon them all, and must ultimately end in the ruin of them all.

The provinces of New York and Pennsylvania, however, was less sanguine than the rest, being so closely connected in the way of trade with Great Britain, that the giving it up entirely appeared a matter of the most serious magnitude, and not to be thought of but after every other method had failed. The intelligence of the remaining bills respecting Boston, however, spread a fresh alarm throughout the continent, and fixed those who had seemed to be the most wavering. The proposal of giving up all commercial

cial intercourse was again proposed ; and contributions for the inhabitants of Boston were raised in every quarter ; and they every day received addresses commending them for the heroic courage with which they sustained their calamity.

The Bostonians on their part were not wanting in their endeavours to promote the general cause. An agreement was framed, which in imitation of former times, they called a Solemn League and Covenant. By this the subscribers most religiously bound themselves to break off all communications with Britain after the expiration of the month of August ensuing, until the obnoxious acts were repealed ; at the same time they engaged neither to purchase nor use any goods imported after that time, and to renounce all connection with those who did, or who refused to subscribe to this covenant ; threatening to publish the names of the refractory ; which at this time was a punishment by no means to be despised. Agreements of a similar kind were almost instantaneously entered into throughout all America. General Gage indeed attempted to counteract the covenant by a proclamation, wherein it was declared an illegal and traiterous combination, threatening with the pains of law such as subscribed or countenanced it. But matters were too far gone for his proclamations to have any effect. The Americans retorted the charge of illegality on his own proclamation, and insisted that the law allowed subjects to meet in order to consider of their grievances, and associate for relief from oppression.

Preparations were now made for holding the general congress so often proposed. Philadel-

phia, as being the most central and considerable town, was pitched upon for the place of its meeting. The delegates, of whom it was to be composed, were chosen by the representatives of each province, and were in number from two to seven for each colony, though no province had more than one vote. This first Congress, which met at Philadelphia, in the beginning of September 1774, consisted of 51 delegates. The novelty and importance of the meeting excited an universal attention; and their transactions were such as could not but tend to render them respectable.

The first act of congress was an approbation of the conduct of Massachusetts-Bay, and an exhortation to continue in the same spirit with which they had begun. Supplies for the suffering inhabitants (whom the operation of the port-bill had reduced to great distress) were strongly recommended; and it was declared, that in case of attempts to enforce the obnoxious acts by arms, all America should join to assist the town of Boston; and, should the inhabitants be obliged, during the course of hostilities, to remove further up the country, the losses they might sustain should be repaired at the public expense.

They next addressed General Gage by letter; in which, having stated the grievances of the people of Massachusetts colony, they informed him of the fixed and unalterable determination of all the other provinces to support their brethren and to oppose the British acts of parliament; that they themselves were appointed to watch over the liberties of America; and intreated him to desist from military operations,
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lest such hostilities might be brought on as would frustrate all hopes of reconciliation with the parent state.

The next step was to publish a declaration of their rights. These they summed up in the rights belonging to Englishmen ; and particularly insisted, that as their distance rendered it impossible for them to be represented in the British parliament, their provincial assemblies, with the governor appointed by the king, constituted the only legislative power within each province. They would, however, consent to such acts of parliament as were evidently calculated merely for the regulation of commerce, and securing to the parent state the benefits of the American trade ; but would never allow that they could impose any tax on the colonies, for the purpose of raising a revenue, without their consent. They proceeded to reprobate the intention of each of the new acts of parliament ; and insisted on all the rights they had enumerated as being unalienable, and what none could deprive them of. The Canada act they particularly pointed out as being extremely inimical to the colonies, by whose assistance it had been conquered ; and they termed it, “ An act for establishing the Roman Catholic religion in Canada, abolishing the equitable system of English laws, and establishing a tyranny there.” They further declared in favour of a non-importation and non-consumption of British goods, until the acts were repealed by which duties were imposed upon tea, coffee, wine, sugar, and molasses, imported into America, as well as the Boston-port act, and the three others passed in the preceding session of parliament.

parliament. The new regulations against the importation and consumption of British commodities were then drawn up with great solemnity ; and they concluded with returning the warmest thanks to those members of parliament who had, with so much zeal, though without any success, opposed the obnoxious acts of parliament.

Their next proceedings were, to frame a petition to the king, an address to the British nation, and another to the colonies ; all of which were so much in the usual spirited strain of American language for some time past, that it is needless to enter into any particular account of them. It is sufficient to say, that they were all drawn up in a masterly manner, and ought to have impressed the people of England with a more favourable idea of the Americans than they could at that time be induced to entertain.

All this time the disposition of the people had corresponded with the warmest wishes of congress. The first of June had been kept as a fast, not only throughout Virginia, where it was first proposed, but through the whole continent. Contributions for the distressed of Boston had been raised throughout America, and people of all ranks seemed to be particularly touched with them. Even those who seemed to be most likely to derive advantage from them, took no opportunity, as has been already instanced in the case of Salem. The inhabitants of Marblehead also shewed a noble example of magnanimity in the present case. Though situated in the neighbourhood of Boston, and most likely to derive benefit from the distressed of their neighbours, they did not attempt to take any advantage, but generously offered

offered the use of their harbour to the Bostonians, as well as their wharves and warehouses, free of all expense. In the mean time the British forces at Boston were continually increasing in number, which greatly augmented the general jealousy and dissatisfaction; the country was ready to rise at a moment's warning; and the experiment was made by giving a false alarm that the communication between the town and country was to be cut off, in order to reduce the former by famine to a compliance with the acts of parliament. On this intelligence, the country people assembled in great numbers, and could not be satisfied until they had sent messengers into the city to inquire into the truth of the report. These messengers were enjoined to inform the town's people, that if they should be so pusillanimous as to make a surrender of their liberties, the province would not think itself bound by such examples; and that Britain, by breaking their original charter, had annulled the contract subsisting between them, and left them to act as they thought proper.

The people in every other respect manifested their inflexible determination to adhere to the plan they had so long followed. The new counsellors and judges were obliged to resign their offices, in order to preserve their lives and property from the fury of the multitude. In some places they shut up the avenues to the court-houses; and, when required to make way for the judges, replied, that they knew of none but such as were appointed by the ancient usage and custom of the province. Every where they manifested the most ardent desire of learning the art
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of war ; and every individual who could bear arms was most assiduous in procuring them, and learning their exercise.

Matters at last proceeded to such an height, that General Gage thought proper to fortify the neck of land which joins the town of Boston to the continent. This, though undoubtedly a prudent measure in his situation, was exclaimed against by the Americans in the most vehement manner ; but the General, instead of giving ear to their remonstrances, deprived them of all power of acting against himself, by seizing the provincial powder, ammunition, and military stores at Cambridge and Charlestown. This excited such indignation, that it was with the utmost difficulty the people could be restrained from marching to Boston and attacking the troops. Even in the town itself, the company of cadets that used to attend him disbanded themselves, and returned the standard he had as usual presented them with on his accession to the government. This was occasioned by his having deprived the celebrated patriot John Hancock, afterwards president of the congress, of his commission as colonel of the cadets. A similar instance happened of a provincial colonel having accepted of a seat in the new council ; upon which 24 officers of his regiment resigned their commissions in one day.

In the mean time a meeting was held of the principal inhabitants of the towns adjacent to Boston. The purport of this was publicly to renounce all obedience to the late acts of parliament, and to form an engagement to indemnify such as should be prosecuted on that account ; the members of the new council were declared violators

violators of the rights of their country ; all ranks and degrees were exhorted to learn the use of arms ; and the receivers of the public revenue were ordered not to deliver it into the treasury, but to retain it in their own hands till the constitution should be restored, or a provincial congress dispose of it otherwise.

A remonstrance against the fortifications on Boston Neck was next prepared ; in which, however, they still declared their unwillingness to proceed to any hostile measures ; asserting only as usual their firm determination not to submit to the acts of parliament they had already so much complained of. The governor, to restore tranquillity, if possible, called a general assembly ; but so many of the council had resigned their seats, that he was induced to countermand its sitting by proclamation. This measure, however, was deemed illegal ; the assembly met at Salem ; and, after waiting a day for the governor, voted themselves into a provincial congress, of which Mr. Hancock was chosen president. A committee was immediately appointed, who waited on the governor with a remonstrance concerning the fortifications on Boston Neck ; but nothing of consequence took place, both parties mutually criminating each other. The winter was now coming on, and the governor, to avoid quartering the soldiers upon the inhabitants, proposed to erect barracks for them ; but the select-men of Boston, compelled the workmen to desist. Carpenters were sent for to New-York, but they were refused ; and it was with the utmost difficulty that he could procure winter-lodgings for his troops. Nor was the difficulty less in procuring

curing clothes ; as the merchants of New-York told him, that they would never supply any article for the benefit of men sent as enemies to their country."

This disposition, known to be almost universal throughout the continent was in the highest degree satisfactory to congress. Every one saw that the ensuing spring was to be the season of commencing hostilities, and the most indefatigable diligence was used by the colonies to be well provided against such a formidable enemy. A list of all the sensible men in each colony was made out especially of those who had served in the former war ; of whom they had the satisfaction to find that two-thirds were still alive and fit to bear arms. Magazines of arms were collected, and money provided for the payment of the troops. The governors in vain attempted to stop these proceedings by proclamations ; the fatal period was now arrived : and the more the servants of government attempted to repress the spirit of the Americans, the more determined it appeared.

In the mean time the inhabitants of Boston were reduced to great distress. The British troops, now distinguished by the name of the enemy, were absolutely in possession of it ; the inhabitants were kept as prisoners, and might be made accountable for the conduct of all the colonies ; and various measures were contrived to relieve the latter from such a disagreeable situation. Sometimes it was thought expedient to remove the inhabitants altogether ; but this was impracticable without the governor's consent. It was then proposed to set fire to the town at once, after
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valuing the houses and indemnifying the proprietors ; but this being found equally impracticable, it was resolved to wait some other opportunity, as the garrison were not very numerous, and, not being supplied with necessaries by the inhabitants, might soon be obliged to leave the place. The friends of the British government indeed attempted to do something in opposition to the general voice of the people ; but after a few ineffectual meetings and resolutions they were utterly silenced, and obliged to yield to the superior number of the patriots.



CHAP. II.

Military Stores seized by the Americans—Skirmish at Lexington—Battle at Bunker's Hill—Crown Point and Ticonderago taken—Articles of Union between the Colonies—Declaration on taking up arms—Speech of the Commissioners from Congress to the Indians—Gen. Washington appointed Commander in Chief—Georgia accedes to the Confederacy.

MATTERS had now proceeded so far that the prospect of reconciliation or friendship with Britain became daily more and more distant. The Americans, therefore, began to seize
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on the military stores and ammunition belonging to government. This first commenced at Newport in Rhode-Island, where the inhabitants carried off 40 pieces of cannon which had been appointed for the protection of the place; and on being asked the reason of this proceeding, they replied, that the people had seized them lest they should be made use of against themselves. After this the assembly met, and resolved that ammunition and warlike stores should be purchased with the public money.

New Hampshire followed the example of Rhode-Island, and seized a small fort for the sake of the powder and military stores it contained. In Pennsylvania, however, a convention was held, which expressed an earnest desire of reconciliation with the mother-country; though, at the same time, in the strongest manner declaring, that they were resolved to take up arms in defence of their just rights, and defend to the last their opposition to the late acts of parliament; and the people were exhorted to apply themselves with the greatest assiduity to the prosecution of such manufactures as were necessary for their defence and subsistence, such as salt, saltpetre, gunpowder, steel, &c. This was the universal voice of the colonies, New-York only excepted. The assembly of that province, as yet ignorant of the fate of their last remonstrance, refused to concur with the other colonies in their determination to throw off the British yoke: their attachment, however, was very faint, and by the event it appeared that a perseverance in the measures which the ministry had adopted was sufficient to unite them to the rest.

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As the disturbances had originated in the province of Massachusetts-Bay, and *there* continued all along with the greatest violence, so this was the province where the first hostilities were formally commenced. In the beginning of February the provincial congress met at Cambridge; and as from every appearance it became daily more evident, that arms must ultimately decide the contest, expertness in military discipline was recommended in the strongest manner, and several military institutions enacted; among which that of the *minute-men* was one of the most remarkable. These were chosen from the most active and expert among the militia; and their business was to keep themselves in constant readiness at the call of their officers; from which perpetual vigilance they derived their title.—It was now easily seen that a slight occasion would bring on hostilities, which could not but be attended with the most violent and certain destruction to the vanquished party; for both were so much exasperated by a long course of reproaches and literary warfare, that they seemed to be filled with the utmost inveteracy against each other.

On the 26th of February General Gage having been informed that a number of field-pieces had been brought to Salem, despatched a party to seize them. Their road was obstructed by a river, over which was a draw-bridge. This the people had pulled up, and refused to let it down: upon which the soldiers seized a boat to ferry them over; but the people cut out her bottom. Hostilities would immediately have commenced, had it not been for the interposition of a clergyman, who represented to the military, on the one
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hand, the folly of opposing such numbers; and to the people, on the other, that as the day was far spent the military could not execute their design, so that they might without any fear leave them the quiet possession of the draw-bridge. This was complied with; and the soldiers, after having remained for some time at the bridge, returned without executing their orders.

The next attempt, however, was attended with more serious consequences. General Gage having been informed that a large quantity of ammunition and military stores had been collected at Concord, about 20 miles from Boston, and where the provincial congress was sitting, sent a detachment, under the command of Colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn, to destroy the stores, and, as was reported, to seize Messrs. Hancock and Adams, the leading men of the congress. They set out before day-break, on the 19th of April, marching with the utmost silence, and securing every one they met on the road, that they might not be discovered. But notwithstanding all their care, the continual ringing of bells and firing of guns as they went along, soon gave them notice that the country was alarmed. About five in the morning they had reached Lexington about 15 miles from Boston, where the militia of the place were exercising. Major Pitcairn called out to them, *disperse you rebels; throw down your arms and disperse*; but, as they still continued in a body, he advanced, discharged his pistol, and ordered his soldiers to fire; who instantly obeyed, and killed and wounded several of the militia: a dispersion of the militia was the consequence. The detachment then proceeded

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ed to Concord, where, having destroyed the stores, they fired upon the Americans; and a scuffle ensued, in which several fell on both sides. The purpose of their expedition being thus accomplished, it was necessary for the king's troops to retreat, which they did through a continual fire kept up on them from Concord to Lexington. Here their ammunition was totally expended; and they would have been unavoidably cut off, had not a considerable reinforcement commanded by Lord Percy met them. The Americans, however, continued their attack with great spirit; and the British would still have been in the utmost danger had it not been for two field-pieces which Lord Percy had brought with him. By these the impetuosity of the Americans was checked, and the British made good their retreat to Boston, with the loss of 273 killed, wounded, and made prisoners: that of the Americans was about 50 killed, 38 wounded and missing.

From the commencement of hostilities, the dispute between Great Britain, and the colonies took a new direction. By this engagement the spirits of the Americans were raised; a considerable army was assembled, who formed a line of encampment from Roxbury to Mystic, through a space of about thirty miles; and here they were soon after joined by a large body of Connecticut troops, under General Putman, an old officer of great bravery and experience. By this formidable force was the town of Boston now kept blocked up. General Gage, however, had so strongly fortified it, that the army powerful as they were, durst not make an attack; while

while on the other hand, his force was by far too insignificant to meet such an army in the field. But towards the end of May, a considerable reinforcement having arrived, with Generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, he was soon enabled to attempt something of consequence. Some skirmishes in the mean time happened in the islands lying off Boston harbour, in which the Americans had the advantage, and burnt an armed schooner, which her people had been obliged to abandon after she was left aground by the tide. Nothing decisive, however, took place, till the 17th of June. In the neighbourhood of Charlestown, a place on the northern shore of the peninsula on which Boston stands, is an high ground called *Bunker's Hill*, which overlooks and commands the whole town of Boston. In the night of the 16th the provincials took possession of this place; and worked with such indefatigable diligence, that to the astonishment of their enemies, they had before day-light, almost completed a redoubt, with a strong entrenchment reaching half a mile eastward, as far as the river Mystic. After this they were obliged to sustain a heavy and incessant fire from the ships and floating batteries with which Charlestown neck was surrounded, as well as the cannon that could reach the place from Boston; in spite of which, however, they continued their work, and finished it before mid-day. A considerable body of foot was then landed at the foot of Bunker's Hill, under the command of Generals Howe and Pigot; the former being appointed to attack the lines, and the latter the redoubt. The Americans, however, having the advantage of the ground,

ground, as well as of their intrenchments, poured down such incessant volleys, as threatened the whole body with destruction; and General Howe was for a little time left almost alone, all his officers being killed or wounded. The provincials in the mean time had taken possession of Charlestown, so that General Pigot was obliged to contend with them in that place as well as in the redoubt. The consequence was, that he was overmatched; his troops were thrown into disorder; and he would in all probability have been defeated had not General Clinton advanced to his relief; upon which the attack was renewed with such fury, that the provincials were driven beyond the neck that leads to Charlestown. In the heat of the engagement the British troops, in order to deprive the Americans of a cover, set fire to Charlestown, which was totally consumed; and, eventually, the Americans were obliged to retreat over Charlestown neck, and were raked by an incessant fire from the Glasgow man of war, and several floating batteries. The loss on the British side amounted to about 1000, among whom were 19 officers killed and 70 wounded; that of the Americans did not exceed 139 killed, and 314 wounded.

The British troops claimed the victory of this engagement; but it must be allowed that it was dearly bought; and the Americans boasted that the real advantages were on their side, as they had so much weakened the enemy that they durst not afterwards venture out of their entrenchments. Although this was the first time the provincials had been in actual service, they behaved themselves with the spirit of veterans, and
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by no means merited the appellation of *cowards*, with which they were so often branded in Britain.

In other places the same determined spirit of resistance appeared on the part of the Americans, Lord North's conciliatory scheme was utterly rejected both by the assemblies of Pennsylvania and New-Jersey, and afterwards in every other colony. The commencement of hostilities at Lexington determined the colony of New-York, which had hitherto continued to waver, to unite with the rest; and as the situation of New-York renders it unable to resist an attack from the sea, it was resolved, before the arrival of a British fleet, to secure the military stores, send off the women and children, and set fire to the city if it was still found incapable of defence. The exportation of provisions was every where prohibited, particularly to the British fishery on the Banks of Newfoundland, or to such colonies of America as should adhere to the British interest. Congress resolved on the establishment of an army, and of a large paper currency in order to support it. In the inland northern colonies, colonel Easton and Ethan Allen without receiving any orders from Congress, or communicating their designs to any body, with a party of only 250 men, surprised the forts of Crown-Point, Ticonderago, and the rest that form a communication betwixt the colonies and Canada. On this occasion 200 pieces of cannon fell into their hands, besides mortars, and a large quantity of military stores, together with two armed vessels, and materials for the construction of others.

After

After the battle of Bunker's-Hill, the provincials erected fortifications on the heights which commanded Charlestown, and strengthened the rest in such a manner that there was no hope of driving them from thence; at the same time that their activity and boldness astonished the British officers, who had been accustomed to entertain a mean and unjust opinion of their courage.

The troops, thus shut up in Boston, were soon reduced to distress. Their necessities obliged them to attempt the carrying off the American cattle on the islands before Boston, which produced frequent skirmishes; but the provincials, better acquainted with the navigation of these shores, landed on the islands, destroyed or carried off whatever was of any use, burned the light-house at the entrance of the harbour, and took prisoners the workmen sent to repair it, as well as a party of marines who guarded them. Thus the garrison were reduced to the necessity of sending out armed vessels to make prizes indiscriminately of all that came in their way, and of landing in different places to plunder for subsistence as well as they could.

The congress in the mean time continued to act with all the vigour which its constituents had expected. Articles of confederation and perpetual union were drawn up and solemnly agreed upon; by which they bound themselves and their posterity for ever. These were in substance as follows:

1. Each colony was to be independent within itself, and to retain an absolute sovereignty in all domestic affairs.

2. Delegates

2. Delegates to be annually elected to meet in congress, at such time and place as should be enacted in the preceding congress.

3. This assembly should have the power of determining war or peace, making alliances ; and in short all that power which sovereigns of states usually claim as their own.

4. The expenses of war to be paid out of the common treasury, and raised by a poll-tax on males between 16 and 60 ; the proportions to be determined by the laws of the colony.

5. An executive council to be appointed to act in place of the congress during its recess.

6. No colony to make war with the Indians without consent of congress.

7. The boundaries of all the Indian lands to be secured and ascertained to them ; and no purchases of lands were to be made by individuals, or even by a colony, without consent of congress.

8. Agents appointed by congress should reside among the Indians, to prevent frauds in trading with them, and to relieve, at the public expense, their wants and distresses.

9. This confederation to last until there should be a reconciliation with Britain ; or, if that event should not take place, it was to be perpetual.

After the action of Bunker's Hill, however, when the power of Great Britain appeared less formidable in the eyes of America than before, congress proceeded formally to justify their proceedings in a declaration drawn up in terms more expressive, and well calculated to excite attention.

“ Were

“ Were it possible (said they) for men who exercise their reason, to believe that the divine Author of our existence intended a part of the human race to hold an absolute property in and unbounded power over others, marked out by His infinite goodness and wisdom as the objects of a legal domination, never rightfully resistable, however severe and oppressive; the inhabitants of these colonies might at least require from the parliament of Great-Britain some evidence that this dreadful authority over them had been granted to that body: but a reverence for our Great Creator, principles of humanity, and the dictates of common sense, must convince all those who reflect upon the subject, that government was instituted to promote the welfare of mankind, and ought to be administered for the attainment of that end.

“ The legislature of Great-Britain, however, stimulated by an inordinate passion for power, not only unjustifiable, but which they know to be peculiarly reprobated by the very constitution of that kingdom; and despairing of success in any mode of contest where regard should be had to law, truth, or right; have at length, deserting those, attempted to effect their cruel and impolitic purpose of enslaving those colonies by violence, and have thereby rendered it necessary for us to close with their last appeal from reason to arms. Yet, however blinded that assembly may be, by their intemperate rage for unlimited domination, so to slight justice in the opinion of mankind, we esteem ourselves bound by obligations to the rest the world to make known the justice of our cause.”

After

After taking notice of the manner in which their ancestors left Britain, the happiness attending the mutual friendly commerce betwixt that country and her colonies, and the remarkable success of the late war, they proceeded as follows; "The new ministry, finding the brave foes of Britain, though frequently defeated, yet still contending, took up the unfortunate idea of granting them a hasty peace, and of then subduing her faithful friends.

"These devoted colonies were judged to be in such a state as to present victories without bloodshed, and all the easy emoluments of statutable plunder. The uninterrupted tenor of their peaceable and respectful behaviour from the beginning of their colonization; their dutiful, zealous, and useful services during the war, though so recently and amply acknowledged in the most honourable manner by his majesty, by the late king, and by parliament, could not save them from the intended innovations. Parliament was influenced to adopt the pernicious project; and assuming a new power over them, has in the course of eleven years given such decisive specimens of the spirit and consequences attending this power, as to leave no doubt of the effects of acquiescence under it.

"They have undertaken to give and grant our money without our consent, though we have ever exercised an exclusive right to dispose of our own property. Statutes have been passed for extending the jurisdiction of the courts of admiralty and vice-admiralty beyond their ancient limits; for depriving us of the accustomed and inestimable rights of trial by jury, in cases affecting

fecting both life and property; for suspending the legislature of one of our colonies; for interdicting all commerce to the capital of another, and for altering fundamentally the form of government established by charter, and secured by acts of its own legislature; and solemnly confirmed by the crown; for exempting the murderers of colonists from legal trial; and in effect from punishment; for erecting in a neighbouring province, acquired by the joint arms of Great-Britain and America, a despotism dangerous to our very existence; and for quartering soldiers upon the colonists in time of a profound peace. It has also been resolved in parliament, that colonists, charged with committing certain offences, shall be transported to England to be tried.

“ But why should we enumerate our injuries in detail?—By one statute it was declared, that parliament can of right make laws to bind us in all cases whatever. What is to defend us against so enormous, so unlimited a power? Not a single person who assumes it is chosen by us, or is subject to our control or influence; but, on the contrary, they are all of them exempt from the operation of such laws; and an American revenue, if not diverted from the ostensible purposes for which it is raised, would actually lighten their own burdens in proportion as it increases ours.

“ We saw the misery to which such despotism would reduce us. We for ten years incessantly and ineffectually besieged the throne as suppliants; we reasoned, we remonstrated with parliament in the most mild and decent language;

but

but administration, sensible that we should regard these measures as freemen ought to do, sent over fleets and armies to enforce them.

“ We have pursued every temperate, every respectful measure ; we have even proceeded to break off all commercial intercourse with our fellow-subjects, as our last peaceable admonition, that our attachment to no nation on earth would supplant our attachment to liberty ; this we flattered ourselves was the ultimate step of the controversy ; but subsequent events have shown how vain was this hope of finding moderation in our enemies !

“ The Lords and Commons, in their address in the month of February, said, that a rebellion at that time actually existed in the province of Massachusetts-Bay ; and that those concerned in it had been countenanced and encouraged by unlawful combinations and engagements entered into by his majesty’s subjects in several of the colonies ; and therefore they besought his majesty that he would take the most effectual measures to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme legislature. Soon after the commercial intercourse of whole colonies with foreign countries was cut off by an act of parliament ; by another, several of them were entirely prohibited from the fisheries in the seas near their coasts, on which they always depended for their subsistence ; and large reinforcements of ships and troops were immediately sent over to General Gage.

“ Fruitless were all the intreaties, arguments, and eloquence of an illustrious band of the most distinguished peers and commoners, who nobly
and

and strenuously asserted the justice of our cause, to stay, or even to mitigate, the heedless fury with which these accumulated outrages were hurried on. Equally fruitless was the interference of the city of London, of Bristol, and of many other respectable towns in our favour."

After having reproached parliament, General Gage, and the British government in general, they proceeded thus: "We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to tyranny, or resistance by force. The latter is our choice. We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery. Honour, justice, and humanity, forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom which we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us. Our cause is just; our union is perfect; our internal resources are great; and, if necessary, foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable. We fight not for glory or conquest; we exhibit to mankind the remarkable spectacle of a people attacked by unprovoked enemies. They boast of their privileges and civilization, and yet proffer no milder conditions than servitude or death. In our native land, in defence of the freedom that is our birthright, for the protection of our property acquired by the honest industry of our forefathers and our own, against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms; we shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of our aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed—and not before."

There

These are some of the most striking passages in the declaration of congress on taking up arms against Great-Britain, and dated July 6th, 1775. The determined spirit which it shows ought to have convinced the people of Britain, that the conquest of America was an event scarce ever to be expected. In every other respect an equal spirit was shown ; and the rulers of the British nation had the mortification to see those whom they styled *rebels* and *traitors*, succeed in negotiations in which they themselves were utterly foiled. In the passing of the Quebec-bill, ministry had flattered themselves that the Canadians would be so much attached to them on account of restoring the French laws, that they would very readily join in any attempt against the colonists who had reprobated that bill in such strong terms ; but in this, as in every thing else indeed, they found themselves mistaken. The Canadians having been subject to Britain for a period of 15 years, and being thus rendered sensible of the advantage of British government, received the bill itself with evident marks of disapprobation, nay, reprobated it as tyrannical and oppressive. A scheme had been formed for General Carleton, governor of the province, to raise an army of Canadians wherewith to act against the Americans ; and so sanguine were the hopes of administration in this respect, that they had sent 20,000 stand of arms, and a great quantity of military stores, to Quebec for the purpose. But the people, though they did not join the Americans, yet were found immoveable in their purpose to stand neuter. Application was made to the bishop ; but he declined to interpose
his

his influence, as contrary to the rules of the Popish clergy; so that the utmost efforts of government in this province were found to answer little or no purpose.

The British administration next tried to engage the Indians in their cause. But though agents were dispersed among them with large presents to the chiefs, they universally replied, that they did not understand the nature of the quarrel, nor could they distinguish whether those who dwelt in America or on the other side of the ocean were in fault: but they were surprised to see Englishmen ask their assistance against one another; and advised them to be reconciled, and not to think of shedding the blood of their brethren.—To the representations of congress they paid more respect. These set forth, that the English on the other side of the ocean, had taken up arms to enslave, not only their countrymen in America, but the Indians also; and if the latter should enable them to overcome the colonists, they themselves would soon be reduced to a state of slavery also. By arguments of this kind these savages were engaged to remain neuter; and thus the colonists were freed from a most dangerous enemy. On this occasion the congress thought proper to hold a solemn conference with the different tribes of Indians. The speech made by them on the occasion is curious, but too long to be fully inserted. The following is a specimen of the European mode of addressing these people.

“ Brothers, Sachems, and Warriors !

“ We the delegates from the Twelve United Provinces, now sitting in general congress at

B b 2

Philadelphia,

Philadelphia, send their talk to you our brothers.

“ Brothers and Friends, now attend !

“ When our fathers crossed the great water, and came over to this land, the king of England gave them a talk, assuring them that they and their children should be his children ; and that if they would leave their native country, and make settlements, and live here, and buy and sell, and trade with their brethren beyond the water, they should still keep hold of the same covenant-chain, and enjoy peace ; and it was covenanted, that the fields, houses, goods, and possessions, which our fathers should acquire, should remain to them as their own, and be their childrens for ever, and at their sole disposal.

“ Brothers and Friends open an ear !

“ We will now tell you of the quarrel betwixt the counsellors of King George and the inhabitants and colonies of America.

“ Many of his counsellors have persuaded him to break the covenant-chain, and not to send us any more good talks. They have prevailed upon him to enter into a covenant against us, and have torn asunder, and cast behind their backs, the good old covenant which their ancestors and ours entered into, and took strong hold of. They now tell us they will put their hands into our pocket without asking, as though it were their own ; and at their pleasure they will take from us our charters, or written civil constitution, which we love as our lives ; also our plantations, our houses, and our goods, whenever they please, without asking our leave. They tell us that our vessels may go to that or this island in the sea, but to this or that particular island we shall not trade

trade any more ; and in case of our noncompliance with these new orders, they shut up our harbours.

“ Brothers, we live on the same ground with you ; the same island is our common birth-place. We desire to sit down under the same tree of peace with you : let us water its roots, and cherish the growth, till the large leaves and flourishing branches shall extend to the setting sun, and reach the skies. If any thing disagreeable should ever fall out between us, the Twelve United Colonies, and you, the Six Nations, to wound our peace, let us immediately seek measures for healing the breach. From the present situation of our affairs, we judge it expedient to kindle up a small fire at Albany, where we may hear each other’s voice, and disclose our minds fully to one another.”

The other remarkable transactions of this congress were the ultimate refusal of the conciliatory proposal made by Lord North, of which such sanguine expectations had been formed by the English ministry ; and appointing a generalissimo to command their armies, which were now very numerous. The person chosen for this purpose was **GEORGE WASHINGTON** : a man so universally beloved, that he was raised to such a high station by the unanimous voice of congress ; and his subsequent conduct showed him every way worthy of it. **Horatio Gates** and **Charles Lee**, two English officers of considerable reputation, were chosen ; the former an adjutant-general, the second a major-general. **Artemus Ward**, **Philip Schuyler**, and **Israel Putnam**, were likewise nominated major-generals, **Seth Pomeroy**,
Richard

Richard Montgomery, David Wooster, William Heath, Joseph Spencer, John Thomas, John Sullivan, and Nathaniel Green, were chosen brigadier-generals at the same time.

Congress had now also the satisfaction to receive deputies from the colony of Georgia, expressing a desire to join the confederacy. The reasons they gave for renouncing their allegiance to Britain was, that the conduct of parliament towards the other colonies had been oppressive; that though the obnoxious acts had not been extended to them, they could view this only as an omission, because of the seeming little consequence of their colony; and therefore looked upon it rather to be a slight than a favour. At the same time they framed a petition to the king, similar to that sent by the other colonies, and which met with a similar reception.

CHAP. III.

The Canada Expedition—Disputes of Lord Dunmore with the Virginians—North and South Carolina expel their Governors—Boston attacked, and evacuated.

THE success which had hitherto attended the Americans in all their measures, now emboldened them to think not only of defending themselves, but likewise of acting offensively against

against Great-Britain. The conquest of Canada appeared an object within their reach, and one that would be attended with many advantages ; and as an invasion of that province was already facilitated by the taking of Crown Point and Ticonderago, it was resolved if possible to penetrate that way into Canada, and reduce Quebec during the winter, before the fleets and armies which they were well assured would sail thither from Britain should arrive. By order of congress, therefore, 3000 men were put under the command of Generals Montgomery and Schuyler, with orders to proceed to Lake Champlain, from whence they were to be conveyed in flat-bottomed boats to the mouth of the river Sorel, a branch of the great river St. Lawrence, and on which is situated a fort of the same name with the river. On the other hand, they were opposed by General Carleton, governor of Canada, a man of great activity and experience in war, who, with a very few troops, had hitherto been able to keep in awe the disaffected people of Canada, notwithstanding all the representations of the colonists. He had now augmented his army by a considerable number of Indians, and promised, even in his present situation, to make a very formidable resistance.

As soon as General Montgomery arrived at Crown-Point he received information that several armed vessels were stationed at St. John's, a strong fort on the Sorel, with a view to prevent his crossing the lake, on which he took possession of an island which commands the mouth of the Sorel, and by which he could prevent them from entering the lake. In conjunction with
General

General Schuyler, he next proceeded to St. John's but finding that place too strong, it was agreed in a council of war, to retire to the Isle aux Noix, where General Schuyler being taken ill, Montgomery was left to command alone. His first step was to gain over the Indians whom Gen. Carleton had employed, and this he in a great measure accomplished; after which, on receiving the full number of troops appointed for this expedition, he determined to lay siege to St. John's. In this he was facilitated by the reduction of Chamblee, a small fort in the neighbourhood, where he found a large supply of powder. An attempt was made by General Carleton to relieve the place; for which purpose he with great pains collected about 1000 Canadians, while colonel Maclean proposed to raise a regiment of the Highlanders who had emigrated from their own country to America.

But while Gen. Carleton was on his march with these new levies, he was attacked by the provincials, and utterly defeated, which being made known to another body of Canadians who had joined Colonel Maclean, they abandoned him without striking a blow, and he was obliged to retreat to Quebec.

The defeat of General Carleton was a sufficient recompence to the Americans for that of Colonel Ethan Allen, which had happened some time before. The success which had attended this gentleman against Crown Point and Ticonderago had emboldened him to make a similar attempt on Montreal; but being attacked by the militia of the place, supported by a detachment
of

of regulars, he was entirely defeated and taken prisoner.

As the defeat of Gen. Carleton and the desertion of Maclean's forces left no room for the garrison of St. John's to hope for any relief, they consented to surrender themselves prisoners of war; but were in other respects treated with great humanity. They were in number 500 regulars and 200 Canadians, among whom were many of the French nobility, who had been active in promoting the cause of Britain among their countrymen.

Gen. Montgomery next took measures to prevent the British shipping from passing down the river from Montreal to Quebec. This he accomplished so effectually that the whole were taken. The town itself was obliged to surrender at discretion; and it was with the utmost difficulty that General Carleton escaped in an open boat by the favour of a dark night.

No further obstacle now remained in the way of the Americans to the capital, except what arose from the nature of the country; and these indeed were very considerable. Nothing, however, could damp the ardour of the provincials. Notwithstanding it was now the middle of November and the depth of winter was at hand, Colonel Arnold formed a design of penetrating through woods, morasses, and the most frightful solitudes from New England to Canada by a nearer way than that which Montgomery had chosen; and this he accomplished in spite of every difficulty, to the astonishment of all who saw or heard of the attempt. A third part of his men under another colonel had been obliged to
leave

leave him by the way, for want of provisions ; the total want of artillery rendered his presence insignificant before a place so strongly fortified ; and the smallness of his army rendered it even doubtful whether he could have taken the town by surprise. The Canadians indeed were amazed at the exploit, and their inclination to revolt from Britain was somewhat augmented ; but none of them as yet took up arms in behalf of America. The consternation into which the town of Quebec was thrown proved detrimental rather than otherwise to the expedition ; as it doubled the vigilance and activity of the inhabitants to prevent any surprise ; and the appearance of common danger united all parties, who, before the arrival of Arnold, were contending most violently with one another. He was therefore obliged to content himself with blocking up the avenues to the town, in order to distress the garrison for want of provisions ; and even this he was unable to do effectually, by reason of the small number of his men.

The matter was not much mended by the arrival of General Montgomery. The force he had with him, even when united to that of Arnold, was too insignificant to attempt the reduction of a place so strongly fortified, especially with the assistance only of a few mortars and field-pieces. After the siege had continued through the month of December, General Montgomery, conscious that he could accomplish his end no other way than by surprise, resolved to make an attempt on the last day of the year 1775. The method he took at this time was perhaps the best that human wisdom could devise. He
advanced

advanced by break of day, in the midst of an heavy fall of snow, which covered his men from the sight of the enemy. Two real attacks were made by himself and Col. Arnold, at the same time that two feigned attacks were made on two other places, thus to distract the garrison, and make them divide their forces. One of the real attacks was made by the people of New-York, and the other by those of New-England under Arnold. Their hopes of surprising the place, however, were defeated by the signal for the attack being through some mistake given too soon. General Montgomery himself had the most dangerous place, being obliged to pass between the river and some high rocks on which the Upper Town stands; so that he was forced to make what haste he could to close with the enemy. His fate, however, was now decided. Having forced the first barrier, a violent discharge of musketry and grape-shot from the second killed him, his principal officers, and the most of the party he commanded; on which those who remained immediately retreated. Colonel Arnold, in the mean time made a desperate attack on the Lower Town, and carried one of the barriers after an obstinate resistance for an hour; but in the action he himself received a wound, which obliged him to withdraw. The attack, however, was continued by the officers whom he had left, and another barrier forced; but the garrison, now perceiving that nothing was to be feared except from that quarter, collected their whole force against it; and after a desperate engagement of three hours, overpowered the provincials, and obliged them to surrender.

In this action, it must be confessed that the valour of the provincial troops could not be exceeded. They had fought under as great disadvantages as those which attended the British at Bunker's hill, and had behaved equally well. Such a terrible disaster left no hope remaining of the accomplishment of their purpose, as General Arnold could now scarce number 800 effective men under his command. He did not however, abandon the province, or even remove to a greater distance than three miles from Quebec; and here he still found means to annoy the garrison very considerably by intercepting their provisions. The Canadians notwithstanding the bad success of the American arms, still continued friendly; and thus he was enabled to sustain the hardships of a winter encampment in that most severe climate. The congress, far from passing any censure on him for his misfortune, created him a brigadier-general.

While hostilities were thus carried on with vigour in the north, the flame of contention was gradually extending itself in the south. Lord Dunmore, the governor of Virginia was involved in disputes similar to those which had taken place in other colonies. These had proceeded so far that the assembly was dissolved; which in this province was attended with a consequence unknown to the rest. As Virginia contained a great number of slaves, it was necessary that a militia should be kept constantly on foot to keep them in awe. During the dissolution of the assembly the militia-laws expired; and the people, after complaining of the danger they were in from the negroes, formed a convention, which enacted

enacted that each county, should raise a quota for the defence of the province. Dunmore, on this, removed the powder from Williamsburgh; which created such discontents, that an immediate quarrel would probably have ensued, had not the merchants of the town undertaken to obtain satisfaction for the injury supposed to be done to the community. This tranquillity, however, was soon interrupted; the people, alarmed by a report that an armed party were on their way from the man of war where the powder had been deposited, assembled in arms, and determined to oppose by force any farther removals. In some of the conferences which passed at this time, the governor let fall some unguarded expressions, such as threatening them with setting up the royal standard, proclaiming liberty to the negroes, destroying the town of Williamsburgh, &c. which were afterwards made public, and contributed greatly to increase the public ferment.

The people now held frequent assemblies. Some of them took up arms with a design to force the governor to restore the powder, and to take the public money into their own possession; but on their way to Williamsburgh for this purpose, they were met by the receiver-general, who became security for the payment of the gun-powder, and the inhabitants promised to take care of the magazine and public revenue.

By these proceedings the governor was so much intimidated, that he sent his family on board a man of war. He himself, however, issued a proclamation, in which he declared the behaviour of the person who promoted the tumult treasonable, accused the people of disaffection, &c.

&c. On their part they were by no means deficient in recriminating ; and some letters of his to Britain being about the same time discovered, consequences ensued extremely similar to those which had been occasioned by those of Mr. Hutchinson's at Boston.

In this state of confusion the governor thought it necessary to fortify his palace with artillery, and procure a party of marines to guard it. Lord North's conciliatory proposal arriving also about the same time, he used his utmost endeavours to cause the people to comply with it. The arguments he used were plausible ; and, had not matters already gone to such a pitch of distraction, it is highly probable that some attention would have been paid to them. " The view (he said) in which the colonies ought to hold this conciliatory proposal, was no more than an earnest admonition from Great-Britain to relieve her wants : that the utmost condescendence had been used in the mode of application ; no determinate sum having been fixed, as it was thought most worthy of British generosity to take what they thought could be conveniently spared, and likewise to leave the mode of raising it to themselves," &c. But the clamour and dissatisfaction were now so universal, that nothing else could be attended to. The governor had called an assembly for the purpose of laying this conciliatory proposal before them ; but it had been little attended to. The assembly began their session by inquiries into the state of the magazine. It had been broken into by some of the townsmen ; for which reason spring-guns had been placed there by the governor, which discharged themselves upon

upon the offenders at their entrance: these circumstances, with others of a similar kind, raised such a violent uproar, that, as soon as the preliminary business of the session was over, the governor retired on board a man of war, informing the assembly that he durst no longer trust himself on shore. This produced a long course of disputation, which ended in a positive refusal of the governor to trust himself again in Williamsburgh, even to give assent to the bills, which could not be passed without it, and though the assembly offered to bind themselves for his personal safety. In his turn he requested them to meet him on board the man of war, where he then was; but his proposal was rejected; and further correspondence containing the least appearance of friendship was discontinued.

Lord Dunmore, having thus abandoned his government, attempted to reduce by force those whom he could no longer govern. Some of the most strenuous adherents to the British cause, whom their zeal had rendered obnoxious at home, now repaired to him. He was also joined by numbers of black slaves. With these, and the assistance of the British shipping, he was for some time enabled to carry on a kind of predatory war sufficient to hurt and exasperate, but not to subdue. After some inconsiderable attempts on land, proclaiming liberty to the slaves, and setting up the royal standard, he took up his residence at Norfolk, a maritime town of some consequence, where the people were better affected to Britain than in most other places. A considerable force, however, was collected
against

against him : and the natural impetuosity of his temper prompting him to act against them with more courage than caution, he was entirely defeated, and obliged to retire to his shipping, which was now crowded by the number of those who had incurred the resentment of the provincials.

In the mean time a scheme of the utmost magnitude and importance was formed by one Mr. Conolly, a Pennsylvanian, attached to the cause of Britain. The first step of this plan was to enter into a league with the Ohio indians. This he communicated to Lord Dunmore, and it received his approbation ; upon which Conolly set out, and actually succeeded in his design. On his return he was despatched to General Gage, from whom he received a colonel's commission, and set out in order to accomplish the remainder of his scheme. The plan in general was, that he should return to the Ohio, where by the assistance of the British and Indians in these parts, he was to penetrate through the back settlements into Virginia, and join Lord Dunmore at Alexandria. But by an accident very naturally to be expected he was discovered, taken prisoner, and confined.

After the retreat of Lord Dunmore from Norfolk, that place was taken possession of by the provincials, who greatly distressed those on board Lord Dunmore's fleet, by refusing to supply them with any necessaries. This proceeding drew a remonstrance from his Lordship ; in which he insisted that the fleet should be furnished with necessaries ; but his request being denied, a resolution

lation was taken to set fire to the town. After giving the inhabitants proper warning, a party landed, under cover of a man of war, and set fire to that part which lay nearest the shore ; but the flames were observed at the same time to break forth in every other quarter, and the whole town was reduced to ashes. This universal destruction, occasioned a loss of more than £ 300,000

In the southern Colonies of Carolina, the governors were expelled, and obliged to take refuge on board of men of war, as Lord Dunmore had been ; Mr. Martin, governor of North Carolina, on a charge of attempting to raise the back-settlers, consisting chiefly of Scots Highlanders, against the colony. Having secured themselves against any attempts from these enemies, however, they proceeded to regulate their internal concerns in the same manner as the rest of the colonies ; and by the end of the year 1775, Britain beheld the whole of America united against her in the most determined opposition. Her vast possessions of that tract of land (since known by the name of the *Thirteen United States*) were now reduced to the single town of Boston ; in which her forces were besieged by an army with whom they were apparently not able to cope, and by whom they must of course expect in a very short time to be expelled. The situation of the inhabitants of Boston, indeed, was peculiarly unhappy. After having failed in their attempts to leave the town, General Gage had consented to allow them to retire with their effects ; but afterwards, treacherously refused to fulfil his promise. When he resigned his place to General Howe in
October

October 1775, the latter, apprehensive that they might give intelligence of the situation of the British troops, strictly prohibited any person from leaving the place under pain of military execution. Thus matters continued till the month of March 1776, when the town was evacuated.

On the 2d of that month, General Washington opened a battery on the west side of the town, from whence it was bombarded, with a heavy fire of cannon at the same time; and three days after, it was attacked by another battery from the eastern shore. This terrible attack continued for 14 days without intermission; when General Howe, finding the place no longer tenable, determined if possible to drive the enemy from their works. Preparations were therefore made for a most vigorous attack on a hill called Dorchester Neck, which the Americans had fortified in such a manner as would in all probability have rendered the enterprize next to desperate. No difficulties, however, were sufficient to daunt the spirit of the general; and every thing was in readiness, when a sudden storm prevented an exertion which must have been productive of a dreadful waste of blood. Next day, upon a more close inspection of the works they were to attack, it was thought advisable to desist from the enterprize altogether. The fortifications were very strong, and exceedingly well provided with artillery; and, besides other implements of destruction, upwards of 100 hogheads of stones were provided to roll down upon the enemy as they came up; which, as the ascent was extremely steep, must have done prodigious execution.

Nothing

Nothing therefore now remained but to think of a retreat; and even this was attended with the utmost difficulty and danger. The Americans, however, knowing that it was in the power of the British general to reduce the town to ashes, which could not have been repaired in many years, did not think proper to give the least molestation; and for the space of a fortnight the troops were employed in the evacuation of the place, from whence they carried along with them 2000 of the inhabitants, who durst not stay on account of their attachment to the British cause. From Boston they sailed to Halifax; but all their vigilance could not prevent a number of valuable ships from falling into the hands of the Americans. A considerable quantity of cannon and ammunition had also been left at Bunker's Hill and Boston Neck; and in the town, an immense variety of goods, principally woollen and linen, of which the provincials stood very much in need. The estates of those who fled to Halifax were confiscated; as also those who were attached to government, and had remained in the town. As an attack was expected as soon as the British forces should arrive, every method was employed to render the fortifications already very strong, impregnable. For this purpose some foreign engineers were employed, who had before arrived at Boston; and so eager were people of all ranks to accomplish this business, that every able-bodied man in the place, without distinction of rank, set apart two days in the week, to complete it the sooner.

CHAP. IV.

Congress declare the States independent—Siege of Quebec still continued—Gen. Thompson defeated—Insurrection of the Loyalists in North Carolina—Lord Dunmore finally driven out of Virginia—British attack Charleston, and are repulsed—Americans form a Navy.

THE Americans, exasperated to the utmost by the proceedings of parliament, which placed them out of the royal protection, and engaged foreign mercenaries in the plan for subduing them, now formally renounced all connection with Britain, and declared themselves independent. This celebrated declaration was published on the 4th of July 1776. Previous to this a circular letter had been sent through each colony, stating the reasons for it; and such was the animosity now every where prevailing against Great Britain, that it met with universal approbation, except in the province of Maryland alone. It was not long, however, before the people of that colony, finding themselves left in a very dangerous minority, thought proper to accede to the measures of the rest. The manifesto itself was in the usual nervous style, stating a long list of grievances, for which redress had been often applied in vain: and for these reasons they determined on a final separation; to hold the people of Britain as the rest of mankind, “enemies in war, in peace friends.”

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After thus publicly throwing off all allegiance and hope of reconciliation, the colonists soon found that an exertion of all their strength was required in order to support their pretensions. Their arms, indeed, had not, during this season, been attended with success in Canada. Reinforcements had been promised to Col. Arnold, who still continued the blockade of Quebec; but they did not arrive in time to second his operations. Being sensible, however, that he must either desist from the enterprise, or finish it successfully, he recommenced in form; attempting to burn the shipping, and even to storm the town itself. They were unsuccessful, however, by reason of the smallness of their number, though they succeeded so far as to burn a number of houses in the suburbs; and the garrison were obliged to pull down the remainder, in order to prevent the fire from spreading.

As the provincials, though unable to reduce the town, kept the garrison in continual alarms, and in a very disagreeable situation, some of the nobility collected themselves into a body under the command of one Mr. Beaujeu, in order to relieve their capital; but they were met on their march by the provincials, and so entirely defeated, that they were never afterwards able to attempt any thing. Their want of artillery at last convinced them, that it was impracticable in their situation to reduce a place so strongly fortified; the small-pox, at the same time made its appearance in their camp, and carried off great numbers; intimidating the rest to such a degree, that they deserted in crowds. To add to their misfortunes, the British reinforcements unexpected-

ly appeared, and the ships made their way through the ice with such celerity, that the one part of their army was separated from the other; and General Carleton sallying out as soon as the reinforcement was landed, obliged them to fly with the utmost precipitation, leaving behind them all their cannon and military stores; at the same time that their shipping was entirely captured by vessels sent up the river for that purpose. On this occasion the provincials fled with such precipitation that they could not be overtaken; so that none fell into the hands of the British, excepting the sick and wounded. General Carleton now gave a signal instance of his humanity: Being well apprised that many of the provincials had not been able to accompany the rest in their retreat, and that they were concealed in woods, &c. in a very deplorable situation, he generously issued a proclamation, ordering proper persons to seek them out, and give them relief at the public expense; at the same time lest, through fear of being made prisoners, they should refuse these offers of humanity, he promised that, as soon as their situation enabled them, they should be at liberty to depart to their respective homes.

The British general, now freed from any danger of an attack, was soon enabled to act offensively against the provincials, by the arrival of the forces destined for that purpose from Britain. By these he was put at the head of 12,000 regular troops, among whom were those of Brunswick. With this force he instantly set out to the Three Rivers, where he expected that Arnold would have made a stand; but he had retired to Sorel a place 150 miles distant from Quebec, where

where he was at last met by the reinforcement ordered by congress. Here, though the preceding events were by no means calculated to inspire much military ardour, a very daring enterprize was undertaken ; and this was, to surprise the British troops posted here under Generals Frazer and Nesbit ; of whom the former commanded those on land, the latter, such as were on board of transports and were but a little way distant. The enterprize was undoubtedly very hazardous, both on account of the strength of the parties against whom they were to act, and as the main body of the British forces were advanced within 50 miles of the place ; besides that a number of armed vessels and transports with troops lay between them and the Three Rivers. Two thousand chosen men, however, under General Thompson, engaged in this enterprize. Their success was by no means answerable to their spirit and valour. Though they passed the shipping without being observed, General Frazer had notice of their landing ; and thus being prepared to receive them, they were soon thrown into disorder, at the same time that General Nesbit, having landed his forces, prepared to attack them in the rear. On this occasion some field-pieces did prodigious execution, and a retreat was found to be unavoidable. General Nesbit, however, had got between them and their boats, so that they were obliged to take a circuit through a deep swamp, while they were hotly pursued by both parties at the same time, who marched for some miles on each side the swamp, till at last the unfortunate provincials were sheltered from
further

further danger by a wood at the end of the swamp. Their general, however, was taken with 200 of his men.

By this disaster the provincials lost all hopes of accomplishing any thing more in Canada. They demolished their works, and carried off their artillery with the utmost expedition. They were pursued, however, by General Burgoyne; who on the 18th of June arrived at Fort St. John's which he found abandoned and burnt. Chamblee had shared the same fate, as well as all the vessels that were not capable of being dragged up against the current of the river; and the provincial troops had retreated across the lake to Crown-Point, whither they could not be immediately followed. Thus was the province of Canada entirely evacuated by the Americans, who had thus secured the frontier of the adjacent states from invasion on the part of the British; the object of a campaign in which 13,000 men were employed, and near a million of money expended, was rendered in a great measure abortive. General Sullivan, who conducted this retreat after the affair of General Thompson, had great merit in what he did, and received the thanks of congress accordingly.

This was followed by some transactions in the southern colonies, which farther evinced their resolution, and raised the spirits of the Americans — We have formerly taken notice that Mr. Martin, governor of North-Carolina, had been obliged to leave his province and take refuge on board a man of war. Notwithstanding this he did not despair of reducing it again to obedience. For this purpose he applied to the regulators, a dar-
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ing set of banditti, who lived in a kind of independent state; and though considered by government as rebels, yet had never been molested, on account of their numbers and known skill in the use of fire-arms. To the chiefs of these people commissions were sent, in order to raise some regiments; and a Colonel Macdonald was appointed to command them. In the month of February he erected the king's standard, issued proclamations, &c. and collected some forces, expecting to be soon joined by a body of regular troops, who were known to be shipped from Britain to act against the southern colonies. The Americans, sensible of their danger, despatched immediately what forces they had to act against the royalists, at the same time that they diligently exerted themselves to support these with suitable reinforcements. Their present force was commanded by General Moore whose numbers were inferior to Macdonald; for which reason the latter summoned him to join the king's standard under pain of being treated as a rebel. But Moore, being well provided with cannon, and conscious that nothing could be attempted against him, returned the compliment, by acquainting Colonel Macdonald, that if he and his party would lay down their arms, and subscribe an oath of fidelity to congress, they should be treated as friends; but if they persisted in an undertaking for which it is evident they had not sufficient strength, they could not but expect the severest treatment. In a few days General Moore found himself at the head of 8000 men, by reason of the continual supplies which daily arrived from all parts. The royal party amounted only to
2000,

2000, and they were destitute of artillery, which prevented them from attacking the enemy while they had the advantage of numbers. They were now therefore obliged to have recourse to a desperate exertion of personal valour; by dint of which they effected a retreat for near 80 miles to Moor's Creek, within 16 miles of Wilmington. Could they have gained this place, they expected to have been joined by governor Martin and general Clinton, who had lately arrived with a considerable detachment. But general Moore with his army pursued them so close, that they were obliged to attempt the passage of the creek itself, though a considerable body of the Americans, under the command of Colonel Caswell, with fortifications well planted with cannon, was posted on the other. On attempting the creek, however, it was found not to be fordable. They were obliged therefore to cross over a wooden bridge, which the provincials had not time to destroy entirely. They had, however, by pulling up part of the planks, and greasing the remainder in order to render them slippery, made the passage so difficult, that the royalists could not attempt it. In this situation they were, on the 27th of February, attacked by general Moore with his superior army, and totally defeated with the loss of their general and most of their leaders, as well as the best and bravest of their men.

Thus was the power of the Americans established in North-Carolina. Nor were they less successful in the province of Virginia; where Lord Dunmore having long continued an useless predatory war, was at last driven from every creek and road in the province. The people he
had

had on board were distressed to the highest degree by confinement in small vessels. The heat of the season, and the numbers crowded together, produced a pestilential fever, which made great havock, especially among the blacks. At last, finding themselves in the utmost hazard of perishing by famine as well as disease, they set fire to the least valuable of their vessels, reserving only about 50 for themselves, in which they bid a final adieu to Virginia, some sailing to Florida, some to Bermuda, and the rest to the West-Indies.

In South-Carolina the Americans, had a more formidable enemy to deal with. At Cape-Fear a junction was formed between Sir Henry Clinton, and Sir Peter Parker, the latter of whom had sailed with his squadron directly from Europe. They concluded to attempt the reduction of Charleston as being, of all places within the line of their instructions, the object at which they could strike with the greatest prospect of advantage. They had 2,800 land forces, which they hoped, with the co-operation of their shipping, would be fully sufficient.

For some months past every exertion had been made to put the Colony of South-Carolina, and especially its capital, Charleston, in a respectable posture of defence. In subserviency to this view, works had been erected on Sullivan's island, which is situated so near the channel leading up to the town, as to be a convenient post for annoying vessels approaching it.

Sir Peter Parker attacked the fort on that island with two fifty gun ships, the Bristol and Experiment, four frigates, the Active, Acteon, Solebay

Solebay and Syren, each of 28 guns. The Sphynx of 20 guns, the Friendship armed vessel of 22 guns, Ranger sloop, and Thunder bomb, each of 8 guns. On the fort were mounted 26 cannon, 26, 18 and 9 pounders. The attack commenced between ten and eleven in the forenoon, and was continued upwards of ten hours. The garrison consisting of 375 regulars and a few militia, under the command of colonel Moultrie, made a most gallant defence. They fired deliberately, for the most part took aim and seldom missed their object. The ships were torn almost to pieces, and the killed and wounded on board exceeded 200 men. The loss of the garrison was only ten men killed and 22 wounded. The fort being built of palmetto was little damaged. The shot which struck it were ineffectually buried in its soft wood, General Clinton had some time before the engagement, landed with a number of troops on Long-Island, and it was expected that he would have co-operated with Sir Peter Parker, by crossing over the narrow passage, which divides the two islands, and attacking the fort in its unfinished rear, but the extreme danger to which he must unavoidably have exposed his men, induced him to decline the perilous attempt, Colonel Thomson with 7 or 800 men was stationed at the east end of Sullivan's island to oppose their crossing. No serious attempt was made to land either from the fleet or the detachment commanded by Sir Henry Clinton. The firing ceased in the evening, and soon after the ships slipped their cables. Before morning they had retired about two miles from the island. Within a few days more the troops re-embarked and failed

failed for New-York. The thanks of congress were given to General Lee, who had been sent by congress to take the command in Carolina, and also to colonels Moultrie and Thomson, for their good conduct on this memorable day. In compliment to the commanding officer the fort from that time was called Fort Moultrie.

This year also, the Americans, having so frequently made trial of their valour by land, became desirous of trying it by sea also, and of forming a navy that might in some measure be able to protect their trade, and do essential hurt to the enemy. In the beginning of March, Commodore Hopkins was despatched with five frigates to the Bahama islands, where he made himself master of the ordnance and military stores; but the gunpowder which had been the principal object, was removed. On his return he captured several vessels; but was foiled in his attempt on the Glasgow frigate, which found means to escape notwithstanding the efforts of his whole squadron.

CHAP. V.

Battle on Long Island—New-York abandoned—Battle at the White-plains—British overrun the Jerseys—Rhode-Island taken—The British convey Vessels up the Lake Champlain—and destroy the Naval Force of the Americans—General Lee taken prisoner—Battles of Trenton and Princeton.

THE time, however, was now come when the fortitude and patience of the Americans were to undergo a severe trial. Hitherto they had been on the whole successful in their operations: but now they were doomed to experience misfortune, misery, and disappointment; the enemy over-running their country, and their own armies not able to face them in the field. The province of New-York, as being the most central colony, and most accessible by sea, was pitched upon for the object of the main attack. The force sent against it consisted of 6 ships of the line, 30 frigates, besides other armed vessels, and a vast number of transports. The fleet was commanded by Lord Howe, and the land forces by his brother General Howe, who was now at Halifax. The latter, however, a considerable time before his brother arrived, had set sail from Halifax, and lay before New-York, but without attempting to commence hostilities until he should be joined by his brother. The Americans had, according to custom, fortified New-York and the adjacent islands in an extraordinary manner. However,

However, General Howe was suffered to land his troops on Staten Island, where he was soon joined by a number of the inhabitants. About the middle of July, Lord Howe arrived with the grand armament; and being one of the commissioners appointed to receive the submission of the colonists, he published a circular letter to this purpose to the several governors who had lately been expelled from their provinces, desiring them to make the extent of his commission, and the powers he was invested with by parliament, as public as possible. Here, however, congress saved him trouble, by ordering his letter and declaration to be published in all the newspapers, "That every one might see the insidiousness of the British ministry, and that they had nothing to trust to besides the exertion of their own valour."

Lord Howe next sent a letter to General Washington; but as it was directed to George Washington, Esq. the General refused to accept of it, as not being directed in the style suitable to his station. To obviate this objection, Adjutant-general Patterson was sent with another letter, directed "*To George Washington, &c. &c. &c.*" But though a very polite reception was given to the bearer, General Washington utterly refused the letter; nor could any explanation of the adjutant induce him to accept of it. The only interesting part of the conversation was that relating to the powers of the commissioners, of whom Lord Howe was one. The adjutant told him, that these powers were very extensive; that the commissioners were determined to exert themselves to the utmost in order to bring about
a reconciliation;

a reconciliation ; and that he hoped the General would consider this visit as a step towards it. General Washington replied, that it did not appear that these powers consisted in any thing else than granting pardons ; and as America had committed no offence, she asked no forgiveness, and was only defending her unquestionable rights.

The decision of every thing being now by consent of both parties left to the sword, no time was lost, but hostilities commenced as soon as the British troops could be collected. This, however, was not done before the month of August : when they landed without any opposition on Long-island, opposite to the shore of Staten-Island. General Putnam, with a large body of troops, lay encamped and strongly fortified on a peninsula on the opposite shore, with a range of hills between the armies, the principal pass of which was near a place called *Flat-Bush*. Here the centre of the British army, consisting of Hessians, took post ; the left wing, under General Grant, lying near the shore ; and the right, consisting of the greater part of the British forces, lay under Lord Percy, Cornwallis, and General Clinton. Putnam had ordered the passes to be secured by large detachments, which was executed as to those at hand ; but one of the utmost importance, that lay at a distance, was entirely neglected. This gave an opportunity to a large body of troops under Lord Percy and Clinton to pass the mountains and attack the Americans in the rear, while they were engaged with the Hessians in front. Through this piece of negligence their defeat became inevitable. Those who
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were engaged with the Hessians first perceived their mistake, and began a retreat towards their camp; but the passage was intercepted by the British troops, who drove them back into the woods. Here they were met by the Hessians; and thus they were for many hours slaughtered between the two parties, no way of escape remaining but by breaking through the British troops, and thus regaining their camp. In this attempt many perished; and the right wing, engaged with General Grant, shared the same fate. The victory was complete; and the Americans lost on this fatal day (August 27) considerably upwards of 1000 men, and two generals; several officers of distinction were made prisoners, with a number of privates. Among the slain, a regiment consisting of young gentlemen of fortune and family in Maryland, was almost entirely cut in pieces, and of the survivors not one escaped without a wound.

The ardour of the British troops was now so great, that they could scarce be restrained from attacking the lines of the provincials; but for this there was now no occasion, as it was certain they could not be defended. Of the British and Hessians about 450 were lost in this engagement.

As none of the American commanders thought it proper to risk another attack, it was resolved to abandon their camp as soon as possible. Accordingly, on the night of the 29th of August, the whole of the continental troops were ferried over with the utmost secrecy and silence; so that in the morning the British had nothing to do but take possession of the camp and what artillery they had abandoned.

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This victory, though complete, was very far from being so decisive as the conquerors imagined. Lord Howe, supposing that it would be sufficient to intimidate the congress into some terms, sent General Sullivan, who had been taken prisoner in the late action, to congress, with a message, importing, that though he could not consistently treat with them as a legal assembly, yet he would be very glad to confer with any of the members in their private capacity; setting forth at the same time the nature and extent of his powers as commissioner. But the congress were not so humbled as to derogate in the least from the dignity of character they had assumed. They replied, that the congress of the free and independent states of America could not consistently send any of its members in another capacity than that which they had publicly assumed; but as they were extremely desirous of restoring peace to their country upon equitable conditions, they would appoint a committee of their body to wait upon him, and learn what proposals he had to make.

This produced a new conference. The committee appointed by congress was composed of Dr. Franklin, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Rutledge. They were very politely received by his Lordship; but the conference proved as fruitless as before independency had been declared; and the final answer of the deputies was, that they were extremely willing to enter into any treaty with Great Britain that might conduce to the good of both nations, but that they would not treat in any other character than that of independent states. This positive declaration instantly put an
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end to all hopes of reconciliation ; and it was resolved to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour. Lord Howe, after publishing a manifesto, in which he declared the refusal of congress, and that he himself was willing to confer with all well disposed persons about the means of restoring public tranquillity, set about the most proper methods for reducing the city of New-York. Here the provincial troops were posted, and from a great number of batteries kept continually annoying the British shipping. The East River lay between them, of about 1200 yards in breadth, which the British troops were extremely desirous of passing. At last, the ships having, after an incessant cannonade of several days, silenced the most troublesome batteries, a body of troops were sent up the river to a bay, about three miles distant, where the fortifications were less strong than in other places. Here having driven off the provincials by the cannon of the fleet, they marched directly towards the city ; but the Americans finding that they should now be attacked on all sides, abandoned the city, and retired to the north of the island, where the principal force was collected. In their passage thither they skirmished with the British, but carefully avoided a general engagement ; and it was observed that they did not behave with that ardour and impetuous valour which had hitherto marked their character.

The British and provincial armies were not now above two miles distant from each other. The former lay encamped from shore to shore for an extent of two miles, being the breadth of the island, which, though 15 miles long, exceeds
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not two in any part in breadth. The provincials, who lay directly opposite had strengthened their camp with many fortifications; at the same time being masters of all the passes and defiles betwixt the two camps they were enabled to defend themselves against an army much more numerous than their own; and they had strongly fortified a pass called *King's-Bridge*, whence they could secure a passage to the continent in case of any misfortune. Here General Washington in order to inure the provincials to actual service, and at the same time to annoy the enemy as much as possible, employed his troops in continual skirmishes; by which it was observed that they soon recovered their spirits, and behaved with their usual boldness.

As the situation of the two armies was now highly inconvenient for the British generals it was resolved to make such movements as might oblige Gen. Washington to relinquish his strong situation. The possession of New-York had been less beneficial than was expected. A few days after it was evacuated by the Americans, a dreadful fire broke out, occasioned, probably, by the licentious conduct of some of its new masters, and had it not been for the active exertions of the sailors and soldiery, the whole town might have been consumed, the wind being high, and the weather remarkably dry. About a thousand houses were destroyed. General Howe having left Lord Percy with sufficient force to garrison New-York, he embarked his army in flat-bottomed boats by which they were conveyed through the dangerous passage called *Hell-Gate*, and landed near the town of West-Chester, lying
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on the continent towards Connecticut. Here having received a supply of men and provisions, they moved to New-Rochelle, situated on the sound which separates Long-Island from the continent. After this receiving still fresh reinforcements, they made such movements as threatened to distress the provincials very much by cutting off their convoys of provisions from Connecticut, and thus force them to an engagement. This, however, General Washington determined at all events to avoid. He therefore extended his forces into a long line opposite to the way in which the enemy marched, keeping the Bronx, a river of considerable magnitude, between the two armies, with the North-River on his rear. Here again the provincials continued for some time to annoy and skirmish with the royal army, until at last by some other manœuvres, the British general found means to attack them advantageously at a place called the *White-Plains*, and drove them from some of their posts. The success on this occasion was much less complete than the former; however it obliged the provincials once more to shift their ground, and to retreat farther up the country. General Howe pursued for some time; but at last finding all his endeavours vain to bring the Americans to a pitched battle, he determined to give over such an useless chase, and employ himself in reducing the forts which the provincials still retained in the neighbourhood of New-York. In this he met with the most complete success. The Americans, on the approach of the king's forces, retreated from King's-Bridge into Fort Washington; and this as well as Fort-Lee, which lay in the neighbourhood, was quickly reduced,

reduced, though the garrison made their escape. Thus the Jerseys were laid entirely open to the incursions of the British troops, and so fully were these provinces taken possession of by the royal army, that its winter-quarters extended from New-Brunswick to the river Delaware. Had any number of boats been at hand, it was thought Philadelphia would have fallen into their hands. All these, however, had been carefully removed by the Americans. In lieu of this enterprize, Sir Henry Clinton, undertook an expedition to Rhode-Island, and became master of it without losing a man. His expedition was also attended with this further advantage, that the American fleet under commodore Hopkins was obliged to sail as far as possible up the river Providence, and thus remained entirely useless.

The same ill success continued to attend the Americans in other parts. After their expulsion from Canada, they had crossed the lake Champlain, and taken up their quarters at Crown-Point, as we have already mentioned. Here they remained for some time in safety, as the British had no vessels on the lake, and consequently general Burgoyne could not pursue them. To remedy this deficiency, there was no possible method, but either to construct vessels on the spot, or take to pieces some vessels already constructed, and drag them up the river into the lake. This however, was effected in no longer a space than three months; and the British general, after incredible toil and difficulty, saw himself in possession of a great number of vessels, by which means he was enabled to pursue his enemies, and invade them in his turn. The labour undergone

at this time by the sea and land forces must indeed have been prodigious; since there were conveyed over land, and dragged up the rapids of St. Lawrence, not fewer than thirty large long-boats, 400 batteaux, besides a vast number of flat-bottomed boats, and a gondola of 30 tons. The intent of the expedition was to push forward, before winter, to Albany, where the army would take up its winter-quarters, and next spring effect a junction with that under General Howe, when it was not doubted that the united force and skill of these two commanders would speedily put a termination to the war.

By reason of the difficulties with which the equipment of this fleet had been attended, it was the beginning of October before the expedition could be undertaken. It was now, however, by every judge, allowed to be completely able to answer the purpose for which it was intended. It consisted of one large vessel with three masts, carrying 18 twelve pounders; two schooners, the one carrying 14, the other 12 six pounders; a large flat-bottomed radeau with six twenty-four and 6 twelve pounders; and a gondola with 8 nine pounders. Besides these, were 20 vessels of a smaller size, called *gun-boats*, carrying each a piece of brass ordnance from nine to twenty-four pounders, or howitzers. Several long-boats were fitted out in the same manner; and besides all these, there was a vast number of boats and tenders of various sizes to be used as transports for the troops and baggage. It was manned by a number of select seamen, and the guns were to be served by a detachment from the corps of artillery;

lery ; the officers and foldiers appointed for this expedition were alfo chosen out of the whole army.

To oppofe this formidable armament the Americans had only a very inconfiderable force, commanded by General Arnold ; who, after engaging part of the British fleet for a whole day, took advantage of the darknefs of the night to fet fail without being perceived, and the next morning was out of fight : but he was fo hotly purfued by the British, that on the fecond day after, he was overtaken, and forced to a fecond engagement. In this he behaved with great gallantry ; but his force being very inferior to that of the enemy, he was obliged to run his fhips a-fhore and fet them on fire. A few only efaped to lake George ; and the garrifon of Crown-Point having deftroyed or carried off every thing of value, retired to Ticonderago. Thither General Carleton intended to have purfued them ; but the difficulties he had to encounter appeared fo many and fo great, that it was thought proper to march back into Canada and defift from any further operations till next fpring.

Thus the affairs of the Americans feemed every where going to wreck ; even thofe who had been moft fanguine in their caufe began to waver. The time, alfo, for which the foldiers had enlisted themfelves was now expired ; and the bad fuccefs of the preceding campaign had been fo very difcouraging, that no perfon was willing to engage himfelf during the continuance of a war of which the event feemed to be fo doubtful. In confequence of this, therefore, General Washington found his army daily decreafing in ftrength ;
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so that, from 30,000 of which it consisted when general Howe landed on Staten Island, scarce a tenth part could now be mustered. To assist the chief commander as much as possible, general Lee had collected a body of forces in the north; but on his way southward, having imprudently taken up his lodging at some distance from his troops, information was given to colonel Harcourt, who happened at that time to be in the neighbourhood, and Lee was made prisoner. The loss of this general was much regretted, the more especially as he was of superior quality to any prisoner in the possession of the colonists, and could not therefore be exchanged. Six field-officers were offered in exchange for him, and refused; and the congress was highly irritated at its being reported that he was to be treated as a deserter, having been a half-pay officer in the British service at the commencement of the war. In consequence of this they issued a proclamation, threatening to retaliate on the prisoners in their possession whatever punishment would be inflicted on any of those taken by the British, and especially that their conduct should be regulated by the treatment of general Lee.

In the mean time they proceeded with the most indefatigable diligence to recruit their army, and bound their soldiers to serve for a term of three years, or during the continuance of the war. The army designed for the ensuing campaign, was to consist of 88 battalions; of which each province was to contribute its quota; and 20 dollars were offered as a bounty to each soldier, besides an allotment of lands at the end of the war. No

lands were promised to those who only enlisted
for

for three years. All officers or soldiers disabled through wounds received in the service were to enjoy half-pay during life. To defray the expense Congress borrowed five millions of dollars at five per cent ; for the payment of which the United States became surety. At the same time, in order to animate the people to vigorous exertions, a declaration was published, in which they set forth the necessity there was for taking proper methods to insure success in their cause : they endeavoured to palliate as much as possible the misfortunes which had already happened ; and represented the true cause of the present distress to be the short term of enlistment.

This declaration, together with the imminent danger of Philadelphia, determined the Americans to exert themselves to the utmost in order to reinforce Gen. Washington's army, who, even in this time of depression and discouragement, formed the bold design of recrossing the Delaware, and attacking that part of the enemy which was posted at Trenton. As the Royal army extended in different cantonments for a great way, Gen. Washington, perceiving the imminent danger to which Philadelphia was exposed, resolved to make some attempt on those divisions of the enemy which lay nearest that city. These happened to be the Hessians, who lay in three divisions, the last only 20 miles distant from Philadelphia. On the 25th of December, having collected as considerable a force as he could, he set out with an intent to surprise that body of the enemy which lay at Trenton. His army was divided into three bodies ; one of which he ordered to cross the Delaware at Trenton Ferry, a little

little below the town ; the second at a good distance below, at a place called *Bordentown*, where the second division of Hessians was placed ; while he himself, with the third directing his course to a ferry some miles above Trenton, intended to have passed it at midnight, and attack the Hessians at break of day. But by reason of various impediments, it was eight in the morning before he could reach the place of his destination. The enemy, however, did not perceive his approach till they were suddenly attacked. Colonel Ralle who commanded them, did all that could be expected from a brave and experienced officer ; but every thing was in such confusion, that no efforts of valour or skill could now retrieve matters. The Colonel himself was mortally wounded, his troops were entirely broken, their artillery seized, and about 1000 taken prisoners. After this gallant exploit, General Washington again returned into Pennsylvania.

This action, though seemingly of no very decisive nature, was sufficient at that time to turn the fortune of war in favour of America. It tended greatly to lessen the apprehensions which the provincials had of the Hessians, at the same time that it equally abated the confidence which the British had till now put in them.

Reinforcements came in from several quarters to General Washington, so that he was soon in a condition once more to pass the Delaware, and take up his quarters at Trenton ; where he was emboldened to maintain his station, notwithstanding the accounts that were received of the enemy's rapid advance towards him. Lord Cornwallis, accordingly, made his appearance in full force ;

force; and, on the evening of his arrival, the little town of Trenton contained the two hostile armies, separated only by a small creek, which was fordable in many places. This was, indeed the crisis of the American revolution; and had his Lordship made an immediate attack, in pursuance of what is reported to have been the advice of Sir William Erskine, General Washington's defeat seems to have been inevitable; but a night's delay turned the fate of the war, and produced an enterprize, the magnitude and glory of which, can only be equalled by its success. General Washington having called a council of war, stated the calamitous situation to which his army was reduced; and having heard the various opinions of his officers, finally proposed a circuitous march to Princeton, as the means of avoiding, at once, the imputation of a retreat, and the danger of a battle, with numbers so inferior, and in a situation so ineligible. The idea was unanimously approved; and as soon as it was dark, the necessary measures were taken for accomplishing it. A line of fires was kindled, which served to give light to the Americans, while it obscured them from the observation of the enemy; and by a providential interposition, the weather, which had been for some time past warm, moist, and foggy, suddenly changed to a hard frost; and in a moment as it were, rendered the road, which had been deep and heavy, firm and smooth as a pavement. At break of day General Washington arriving near Princeton, was discovered by a party of British troops, consisting of three regiments under the command of Col. Mawhood, who were on their march to
Trenton.

Trenton. With these the centre of the Americans engaged, and after killing 60, wounding many, and taking 300 prisoners, obliged the rest to make a precipitate escape, some towards Trenton, and others in a retrograde route to Brunswick. The loss of the Americans was inconsiderable in point of numbers; but the fall of the amiable general Mercer rendered it important. The British astonished and discouraged at the success and spirit of these repeated enterprises, abandoning both Trenton and Princeton, retreated to Brunswick; while the triumphant Americans retired to Morristown. General Washington, however, omitted no opportunity of recovering what had been lost; and by dividing his army into small parties, which could be reunited on a few hours warning, he in a manner entirely covered the country with it, and repossessed himself of all the important places.

Thus ended the campaign of 1776, with scarce any other real advantage than the acquisition of the city of New-York, and of a few fortresses in its neighbourhood; where the troops were constrained to act with as much circumspection as if they had been besieged by a victorious army, instead of being themselves the conquerors.

CHAP. VI.

Excursions of the British from New-York—Battle at Brandywine—Philadelphia taken—Battle at Germantown—Attack of Mud-Island—General Burgoyne's Expedition—and Surrender.

THE army at New-York began in 1777 to exercise a kind of predatory war, by sending out parties to destroy magazines, make incursions, and take or destroy such forts as lay on the banks of rivers, to which their great command of shipping gave them access. In this they were generally successful: the provincial magazines at Peek's Hill, a place about 50 miles distant from New-York, were destroyed, the town of Danbury in Connecticut burnt, and that of Ridgefield in the same province was taken possession of. In returning from the last expedition, however, the British were greatly harrassed by the Americans under Generals Arnold, Wooster, and Sullivan; but they made good their retreat, though with the loss of above 200 killed and wounded. On the American side the loss was considerable; General Wooster was killed, and Arnold in the most imminent danger. On the other hand the Americans destroyed the stores at Stagg-harbour, in Long Island, and made prisoners of all who defended the place.

As this method of making war, however, could answer but little purpose, and favoured more of the barbarous incursions of savages than of a war carried

carried on by a civilized people, it was resolved to make an attempt on Philadelphia. At first it was thought that this could be done through the Jerseys; but the cruelties exercised by the British plundering parties had excited so general an abhorrence, and General Washington had received such large reinforcements, and posted himself so strongly, that it was found to be impracticable. Many stratagems were used to draw him from his strong situation, but without success; so that it was found necessary to make the attempt on Philadelphia by sea. While the preparations necessary for this expedition were going forward, the Americans found means to make amends for the capture of General Lee by that of General Prescott, who was seized in his quarters with his aid de camp, in much the same manner as General Lee had been. This was exceedingly mortifying to the General himself, as he had not long before set a price upon General Arnold, by offering a sum of money to any one that apprehended him; which the latter answered by setting a lower price upon General Prescott.

The month of July was far advanced before the preparations for the expedition against Philadelphia were completed; and it was the 23d before the fleet was able to sail from Sandy Hook. The force employed in this expedition consisted of 36 battalions of British and Hessians, a regiment of light horse, and a body of loyalists raised at New York. The remainder of these, with 17 battalions, and another body of light horse, were stationed at New-York under Sir Henry Clinton. Seven battalions were stationed

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at Rhode Island. After a week's sailing they arrived at the mouth of the Delaware; but there having received certain intelligence, that the navigation of the river was so effectually obstructed, that no possibility of forcing a passage remained; or more probably that Gen. Washington had marched within a short distance of Philadelphia; it was resolved to proceed further southward to Chesapeak Bay in Maryland, from whence the distance to Philadelphia was not very great, and where the provincial army would find less advantage from the nature of the country than in the Jerseys.

The navigation from Delaware to Chesapeak took up the best part of the month of August, and that up the bay itself was extremely difficult and tedious. At last, having sailed up the river Elk, as far as was practicable, the troops were landed without opposition, and set forward on their intended expedition. On the news of their arrival at Chesapeak, General Washington left the Jersey's and hastened to the relief of Philadelphia; and in the beginning of September met the royal army at Brandy-Wine Creek about mid-way, between the head of the Elk and Philadelphia. Here he adhered to his former method of skirmishing and harrassing the royal army on its march; but as this proved insufficient to stop its progress, he retired to that side of the creek next to Philadelphia, with an intent to dispute the passage. This brought on a general engagement on the 11th of September. The royal army advanced at break of day in two columns, commanded by lieutenant-general Knyphausen, and by lord Cornwallis. The first took the direct
road

road to Chadd's Ford, and made a shew of passing it, in front of the main body of the Americans. At the same time the other column moved up on the west side of the Brandy-Wine to its fork, and crossed both its branches about two o'clock in the afternoon, and then marched down on the east side thereof, with the view of turning the right wing of their adversaries.

This they effected and compelled them to retreat with great loss. General Knyphausen amused the Americans with the appearance of crossing the ford, but did not attempt it until Lord Cornwallis having crossed it above and moved down on the opposite side, had commenced his attack. Knyphausen then crossed the ford, and attacked the troops posted for its defence. These, after a severe conflict, were compelled to give way. The retreat of the Americans became general, and was continued to Chester, under cover of general Weeden's brigade, which came off in good order. The final issue of battles often depends on small circumstances, which human prudence cannot control—one of these occurred here, and prevented general Washington from executing a bold design, to effect which, his troops were actually in motion. This was to have crossed the Brandy-Wine, and attack Knyphausen, while gen. Sullivan and Lord Stirling, should keep earl Cornwallis in check. In the most critical moment, General Washington received intelligence which he was obliged to credit, that the column of Lord Cornwallis, had been only making a feint, and was returning to join Knyphausen. This prevented the execution of a plan, which, if carried into effect, would probably

bly have given a different turn to the events of the day. The killed and wounded in the royal army, were near six hundred. The loss of the Americans was twice that number. The celebrated Marquis de la Fayette first bled here in the cause of liberty, which he had espoused with enthusiastic ardour, his wound was slight, but it endeared him to the Americans.

The loss of this battle proved also the loss of Philadelphia. General Washington retired towards Lancaster, to save the stores which had been deposited at Reading. But though he could not prevent the loss of Philadelphia, he still adhered to his original plan of distressing the royal party, by laying ambushes and cutting off detached parties; but in this he was less successful than formerly; and one of his own detachments which lay in ambush in a wood were themselves surprised and entirely defeated, with the loss of about 300 killed and wounded, besides 70 or 80 taken, and all their arms and baggage.

General Howe now perceiving that the Americans would not venture another battle even for the sake of their capital, took peaceable possession of it on the 26th of September. His first care was then to cut off by means of strong batteries, the communication between the upper and lower parts of the river; which was executed, notwithstanding the opposition of some American armed vessels; one of which, carrying 36 guns was taken. His next task was to open a communication with it by sea; and this was a work of no small difficulty. A vast number of batteries and forts had been erected, and immense machines formed like chevaux de frise, from whence they

they took their name, sunk in the river to prevent its navigation. As the fleet was sent round to the mouth of the river in order to co-operate with the army, this work, however difficult, was accomplished; nor did the provincials give much opposition, as well knowing that all places of this kind were now untenable. General Washington, however, took the advantage of the royal army being divided to attack the camp of the principal division of it that lay at Germantown, in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia. In this he met with very little success; for though he reached the place of destination by three o'clock in the morning, the patrols had time to call the troops to arms. The Americans, notwithstanding made a very resolute attack; but they were received with so much bravery, that they were compelled to abandon the attempt, and retreat in great disorder; with the advantage, however, of carrying off their cannon, though pursued for a considerable way, after having upwards of 200 killed, and about 500 wounded, and upwards of 400 taken prisoners, among whom were 54 officers. On the British side, the loss amounted to 430 wounded and prisoners, and 70 killed, but among the last were General Agnew and colonel Bird, with some other excellent officers.

The British were well apprized, that without the command of the Delaware, their possession of Philadelphia would be of no advantage. They therefore strained every nerve to open the navigation of that river,—to this end Lord Howe had early taken the most effectual measures for conducting the fleet and transports round from
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the Chesapeak to the Delaware, and drew them up on the Pennsylvania shore, from Reedy-Island to New-Castle. Early in October, a detachment from the British army crossed the Delaware, with a view of dislodging the Americans from Billingsport. On their approach, the place was evacuated. As the season advanced more vigorous measures for removing the obstructions were concerted between the general and the admiral. Batteries were erected on the Pennsylvania shore to assist in dislodging the Americans from Mud-Island. At the same time Count Donop with 2000 men having crossed into New-Jersey, opposite to Philadelphia, marched down on the eastern side of the Delaware, to attack the redoubt at Red-Bank. This was defended by about 400 men under the command of colonel Green. The attack immediately commenced by a smart cannonade, under cover of which the Count advanced to the redoubt. This place was intended for a much larger garrison than was then in it. It had therefore become necessary to run a line in the middle thereof, and one part of it was evacuated. That part was easily carried by the assailants on which they indulged in loud huzzas for their supposed victory. The garrison kept up a severe well directed fire on the assailants by which they were compelled to retire. They suffered not only in the assault, but in the approach to, and retreat from the fort. Their whole loss in killed and wounded was about 400. Count Donop was mortally wounded and taken prisoner. Congress resolved to present colonel Green with a sword for his good conduct on this occasion. An attack made about the same time on
fort

fort Mifflin by men of war and frigates, was not more successful than the assault on Red-Bank. The *Augusta* man of war of 64 guns, and the *Merlin*, two of the vessels which were engaged in it, got aground. The former was fired and blew up. The latter was evacuated.

Though the first attempts of the British, for opening the navigation of the Delaware, were unsuccessful, they carried their point in another way that was unexpected. The *chevaux de frise*, having been sunk some considerable time, the current of the water was diverted by this great bulk into new channels. In consequence thereof the passage between the islands and the Pennsylvania shore was so deepened as to admit vessels of some considerable draught of water. Through this passage, the *Vigilant*, a large ship, cut down so as to draw but little water, mounted with 24 pounders, made her way to a position from which she might enfilade the works on Mud-Island. This gave the British such an advantage, that the post was no longer tenable. Colonel Smith, who had with great gallantry defended the fort from the latter end of September, to the 11th of November, being wounded, was removed to the main. Within five days after his removal, major Thayer, who as a volunteer had nobly offered to take charge of this dangerous post, was obliged to evacuate it.

This event did not take place till the works were entirely beat down—every piece of cannon dismounted, and one of the British ships so near that she threw grenadoes into the fort, and killed the men uncovered in the platform. The troops who had so bravely defended fort Mifflin; made
a last

a safe retreat to Red-Bank. Congress voted swords to be given to lieutenant colonel Smith and Commodore Hazlewood, for their gallant defence of the Delaware. Within three days after Mud-Island was evacuated, the garrison was also withdrawn from Red-Bank, on the approach of lord Cornwallis, at the head of a large force prepared to assault it. Some of the American galleys and armed vessels escaped by keeping close in with the Jersey shore, to places of security above Philadelphia, but 17 of them were abandoned by their crews, and fired. Thus the British gained a free communication between their army and shipping. This event was to them very desirable. They had been previously obliged to draw their provisions from Chester, a distance of sixteen miles, at some risque, and a certain great expense. The long protracted defence of the Delaware, deranged the plans of the British, for the remainder of the campaign, and consequently saved the adjacent country.

Thus the campaign of 1777 in Pennsylvania, concluded, upon the whole successfully on the part of the British. In the north, however, matters wore a different aspect. The expedition in that quarter had been projected by the British ministry as the most effectual method that could be taken to crush the colonies at once. The four provinces of New-England had originally begun the confederacy against Britain, and were still considered as the most active in the continuation of it; and it was thought, that any impression made upon them, would contribute in an effectual manner to the reduction of all the rest. For this purpose, an army of 4000 chosen British

tish troops and 3000 Germans were put under the command of General Burgoyne; General Carleton was directed to use his interest with the Indians to persuade them to join in this expedition; and the province of Quebec was to furnish large parties to join in the same. The officers who commanded under General Burgoyne were, General Philips of the artillery, Generals Frazer, Powell, and Hamilton, with the German officers General Reidesel and Specht. The soldiers, as has already been observed, were all excellently disciplined, and had been kept in their winter-quarters with all imaginable care, in order to prepare them for the expedition on which they were going. To aid the principal expedition, another was projected on the Mohawk River under colonel St. Leger, who was to be assisted by Sir John Johnson, son to the famous Sir William Johnson who had so greatly distinguished himself in the war of 1755.

On the 21st of June 1777, the army encamped on the western side of the lake Champlain; where being joined by a considerable body of Indians, General Burgoyne made a speech, in which it is said he exhorted these new allies, but ineffectually, to lay aside their ferocious and barbarous manner of making war; to kill only such as opposed them in arms; and to spare prisoners, with such women and children as should fall into their hands. After issuing a proclamation, in which the force of Britain, and that which he commanded, was set forth in very ostentatious terms, the campaign opened with the siege of Ticonderoga. The place was very strong, and garrisoned by 6000 men under General St. Clair; nevertheless,
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the works were so extensive, that even this number was scarce sufficient to defend them properly. They had therefore omitted to fortify a rugged eminence called *Sugar-Hill*, the top of which overlooked and effectually commanded the whole works ; imagining, perhaps, that the difficulty of the ascent would be sufficient to prevent the enemy from taking possession of it. On the approach of the first division of the army, the provincials abandoned and set fire to their outworks ; and so expeditious were the British troops, that by the 5th of July every post was secured which was judged necessary for investing it completely. A road was soon after made to the very summit of that eminence which the Americans had supposed could not be ascended ; and so much were they now disheartened, that they instantly abandoned the fort entirely, taking the road to Skenesborough, a place to the south of Lake George ; while their baggage, with what artillery and military stores they could carry off, were sent to the same place by water. But the British generals were determined not to let them pass so easily. Both were pursued and both overtaken. Their armed vessels consisted only of five galleys ; two of which were taken, and three blown up ; on which they set fire to their boats and fortifications at Skenesborough. On this occasion the provincials lost 200 boats, 130 pieces of cannon, with all their provisions and baggage. Their land-forces under Colonel Francis made a brave defence against General Fraser ; and superior in number, had almost overpowered him, when General Reidesel with a large body of Germans came to his assistance. The provincials were now
overpowered

overpowered in their turn; and their commander being killed, they fled on all sides with great precipitation. In this action 200 Americans were killed, as many taken prisoners, and above 600 wounded, many of whom perished in the woods for want of assistance.

During the engagement General St. Clair was at Castleton, about six miles from the place; but instead of going forward to Fort Anne, the next place of strength, he repaired to the woods, which lie between that fortress and New-England. General Burgoyne, however, detached Colonel Hill with the ninth regiment, in order to intercept such as should attempt to retreat towards Fort Anne. On his way he met with a body of the Americans more numerous than his own; but after an engagement of three hours, they were obliged to retire with great loss. After so many disasters, despairing of being able to make any stand at Fort Anne, they set fire to it and retired to Fort Edward. In all these engagements the loss of killed and wounded in the royal army did not exceed 200 men.

General Burgoyne was now obliged to suspend his operations for some time, and wait at Skeneborough for the arrival of his tents, provisions, &c. but employed this interval in making roads through the country about fort Anne, and in clearing a passage for his troops to proceed against the Americans. This was attended with incredible toil; but all obstacles were surmounted with equal patience and resolution by the army. In short, after undergoing the utmost difficulty and making every exertion, he arrived with his army before Fort Edward about the end of July.
Here

Here General Schuyler had been for some time endeavouring to recruit the shattered American forces, and had been joined by General St. Clair with the remains of his army; the garrison of Fort George also, situated on the lake of that name, had evacuated the place and retired to Fort Edward.

But on the approach of the royal army, they retired from thence also, and formed their headquarters at Saratoga. Notwithstanding the great success of the British general, they shewed not the least disposition to submit, but seemed only to consider how they might make the most effectual resistance. For this purpose, the militia was every where raised and draughted to join the army at Saratoga; and such numbers of volunteers were daily added that they soon began to recover from the alarm into which they had been thrown. That they might have a commander whose abilities could be relied on, General Arnold was appointed, who repaired to Saratoga with a considerable train of artillery; but receiving intelligence that Colonel St. Leger was proceeding with great rapidity in his expedition on the Mohawk River, he removed to Still water, a place about half-way between Saratoga, and the junction of the Mohawk and Hudson's River. The Colonel, in the mean time had advanced as far as Fort Stanwix; the siege of which he pressed with great vigour. On the 6th of August, understanding that a supply of provisions, escorted by 800 or 900 men, was on the way to the fort, he despatched Sir John Johnson with a strong detachment to intercept it. This he did so effectually, that, besides intercepting the provisions,

sions, 400 of its guards were slain, 200 taken, and the rest escaped with great difficulty. The garrison, however, were not to be intimidated by the threats or representations of the colonel : on the contrary, they made several successful sallies under Colonel Willet, the second in command ; and this gentleman, in company with another, even ventured out of the fort, and, eluding the vigilance of the enemy, passed through them in order to hasten the march of General Arnold to their assistance.

Thus the affairs of Colonel St. Leger seemed to be in no very favourable situation notwithstanding his late success, and they were soon totally ruined by the desertion of the Indians. They had been alarmed by the report of General Arnold's advancing with 2000 men to the relief of the fort ; and while the Colonel was attempting to give them encouragement, another report was spread, that General Burgoyne had been defeated with great slaughter, and was now flying before the provincials. On this he was obliged to do as they thought proper ; and the retreat could not be effected without the loss of the tents, the artillery and military stores.

General Burgoyne, in the mean time, notwithstanding all the difficulties he had already sustained, found that he must still encounter more. The roads he had made with so much labour and pains were destroyed, either by the wetness of the season or by the Americans ; so that the provisions he brought from Fort George could not arrive at his camp without the most prodigious toil. On hearing of the siege of Fort Stanwix by Colonel

St. Leger,

St. Leger, he determined to move forward, in hopes of inclosing the enemy betwixt his own army and that of St. Leger, or of obtaining the command of all the country between Fort Stanwix and Albany : or, at any rate, a junction with Colonel St. Leger would be effected, which could not but be attended with the most happy consequences. The only difficulty was the want of provisions ; and this it was proposed to remedy by reducing the provincial magazines at Bennington. For this purpose, Colonel Baum, a German officer of great bravery, was chosen with a body of 500 men. This place was about 20 miles from Hudson's River ; and to support Colonel Baum's party, the whole army marched up the river's bank, and encamped almost opposite to Saratoga, with the river betwixt it and the place. An advanced party was posted at Batten Kill, between the camp and Bennington, in order to support Colonel Baum. In their way the British seized a large supply of cattle and provisions, which were immediately sent to the camp ; but the badness of the roads retarded their march so much, that intelligence of their design was sent to Bennington. Understanding now that the American force was greatly superior to his own, the Colonel acquainted the General who immediately despatched Colonel Breyman with a party to his assistance ; but through the same causes that had retarded the march of Colonel Baum, this assistance could not arrive in time. General Starke who commanded the American militia at Bennington, engaged with them before the junction of the royal detachments could be effected. On this occasion about 800
undisciplined

undisciplined militia, without bayonets, or a single piece of artillery, attacked and routed 500 regular troops advantageously posted behind entrenchments—furnished with the best arms, and defended with two pieces of artillery. The field pieces were taken from the party commanded by Col. Baum, and the greatest part of his detachment was either killed or captured. Colonel Breyman arrived on the same ground and on the same day, but not till the action was over. Instead of meeting his friends as he expected, he found himself briskly attacked. This was begun by colonel Warner, (who with his continental regiment, which having been sent for from Manchester, came opportunely at this time) and was well supported by Stark's militia, which had just defeated the party commanded by colonel Baum. Breyman's troops, though fatigued with their preceding march, behaved with great resolution, but were at length compelled to abandon their artillery and retreat. In these two actions the Americans took four brass field pieces, twelve brass drums, 250 dragoon swords, 4 ammunition waggons, and about 700 prisoners. The loss of the Americans, inclusive of their wounded, was about 100 men.

General Burgoyne, thus disappointed in his attempt on Bennington, applied himself with indefatigable diligence to procure provisions from Fort George; and having at length amassed a sufficient quantity to last for a month, he threw a bridge of boats over the river Hudson, which he crossed about the middle of September, encamping on the hills and plains near Saratoga. As soon as he approached the provincial army,

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at this time encamped at Stillwater under General Gates, he determined to make an attack ; for which purpose he put himself at the head of the central division of his army, having General Frazer and Colonel Breyman on the right, with Generals Reidesel and Philips on the left. In this position he advanced on the 19th of September. But the Americans did not now wait to be attacked : on the contrary they attacked the central division with the utmost violence ; and it was not until General Philips with the artillery came up, and at eleven o'clock at night, that they could be induced to retire to their camp. On this occasion, the British troops lost about 500 in killed and wounded, and the Americans about 319, The former were very much alarmed at the obstinate resolution shown by the Americans, but this did not prevent them from advancing, and posting themselves the next day within cannon-shot of their lines. But their allies the Indians began to desert in great numbers ; and at the same time the general was in the highest degree mortified by having no intelligence of any assistance from Sir Henry Clinton, as had been stipulated. He now received a letter from him by which he was informed that Sir H. intended to make a diversion on the North River in his favour. This afforded but little comfort : however, he returned an answer by several trusty persons whom he despatched different ways, stating his present distressed situation, and mentioning that the provisions and other necessaries he had would only enable him to hold out until the 12th of October.

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In the mean time the Americans, in order to cut off the retreat of the British army in the most effectual manner, undertook an expedition against Ticonderoga; but were obliged to abandon the enterprize after having surprized all the out-posts, and taken a great number of boats with some armed vessels, and a number of prisoners. The army under general Burgoyne, however, continued to labour under the greatest distresses: so that in the beginning of October he had been obliged to diminish the soldiers allowance. On the 7th of that month he determined to move towards the enemy. For this purpose he sent a body of 1500 men to reconnoitre their left wing; intending, if possible, to break through it in order to effect a retreat. The detachment, however, had not proceeded far when a spirited attack was made on the left wing of the British army, which was with great difficulty preserved from being entirely broken by a reinforcement brought up by general Frazer, who was killed in the attack. After the troops had with the most desperate efforts regained their camp, it was most vigorously assailed by General Arnold; who, notwithstanding all opposition, would have forced the entrenchments, had he not received a dangerous wound, which obliged him to retire. Thus the attack failed on the left, but on the right the camp of the German reserve was forced, Colonel Breyman killed, and his countrymen defeated with great slaughter, and the loss of all their artillery and baggage.

This was by far the heaviest loss the British army had sustained since the action at Bunker's Hill. The list of killed and wounded amounted

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to near 1200, exclusive of the Germans ; but the greatest misfortune was, that the Americans had now an opening on the right and rear of the British forces, so that the army was threatened with entire destruction. This obliged General Burgoyne once more to shift his position, that the Americans might also be obliged to alter theirs. This was accomplished on the night of the 7th, without any loss, and all the next day he continued to offer the Americans battle ; but they were now too well assured of obtaining a complete victory, by cutting off all supplies from the British, to risk a pitched battle. Wherefore they advanced on the right side, in order to inclose him entirely ; which obliged the General to direct a retreat towards Saratoga. But the Americans had now stationed a great force on the ford at Hudson's river, so that the only possibility of retreat was by securing a passage to Lake George ; and to effect this, a body of workmen were detached with a strong guard, to repair the roads and bridges that led to Fort Edward. As soon as they were gone, however, the Americans, seemed to prepare for an attack : which rendered it necessary to recal the guard, and the workmen being of course left exposed, could not proceed.

In the mean time, the boats which conveyed provisions down Hudson's river were exposed to the continual fire of the American marksmen, who took many of them ; so that it became necessary to convey the provisions over land. In this extreme danger, it was resolved to march by night, to Fort Edward, forcing the passages at the fords either above or below the place ; and, in order to effect this more easily, it was resolved
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that the soldiers should carry their provisions on their backs, leaving behind their baggage and every other incumbrance. But before this could be executed, intelligence was received that the Americans had raised strong entrenchments opposite these fords, well provided with cannon, and that they had likewise taken possession of the rising ground between Fort George and Fort Edward, which in like manner was provided with cannon.

All this time the American army was increasing by the continual arrival of militia and volunteers from all parts. Their parties extended all along the opposite bank of Hudson's River, and some had even passed it in order to observe the least movement of the British army. Every part of the British camp was reached by the grape and rifle-shot of the Americans, besides a discharge from their artillery, which was almost incessant. In this state of extreme distress and danger, the army continued with the greatest constancy and perseverance till the evening of the 13th of October, when an inventory of provisions being taken, it was found that no more remained than what were sufficient to serve for three days; and a council of war being called, it was unanimously determined that there was no method now remaining but to treat with the Americans. In consequence of this a negociation was opened next day, which speedily terminated in a capitulation of the whole British army; the articles of which were, 1. The troops under lieut. general Burgoyne, to march out of their camp with the honours of war, and the artillery of the intrenchments to the verge of the river where the old
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fort stood, where the arms and artillery are to be left.—The arms to be piled by word of command from their own officers :—2. A free passage to be granted to the army under lieut. gen. Burgoyne to Great-Britain, upon condition of not serving again in North-America during the present contest; and the port of Boston to be assigned for the entry of transports, to receive the troops whenever General Howe shall so order :—3. Should any cartel take place, by which the army under lieut. gen. Burgoyne, or any part of it, may be exchanged, the foregoing article to be void, as far as such exchange should be made :—4. The army under lieut. gen. Burgoyne to march to Massachusetts-Bay, by the easiest, and most expeditious and convenient route; and to be quartered in, near, or as convenient as possible to Boston, that the march of the troops may not be delayed when transports arrive to receive them;—The troops to be supplied on their march, and during their being in quarters, with provisions, by major-general Gate's orders, at the same rate of rations as the troops of his own army; and, if possible, the officer's horses and cattle are to be supplied with forage at the usual rates :—6. All the officers to retain their carriages, pack-horses and other cattle, and no baggage to be molested or searched; lieut. gen. Burgoyne giving his honour, that there are no public stores contained therein. Maj. gen. Gates will of course take the necessary measures for the due performance of this article: should any carriages be wanted during the march, for the transportation of officers baggage, they are, if possible, to be supplied by the country at the usual rates :—7. Upon
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the march, and during the time the army shall remain in quarters, in the Massachusetts-Bay, the officers are not, as far as circumstances will admit, to be separated from their men.—The officers are to be quartered according to their rank, and are not to be hindered for their assembling their men for roll-callings, and other necessary purposes of regularity:—8. All corps whatever of lieutenant general Burgoyne's army, whether composed of sailors, batteau-men, artificers, drivers, independent companies, and followers of the army, of whatever country, shall be included in the fullest sense and utmost extent of the above articles, and comprehended in every respect as British subjects:—9. All Canadians, and persons belonging to the Canadian establishment, consisting of sailors, batteau-men, artificers, drivers, independent companies, and many other followers of the army, who come under no particular description, are to be permitted to return there: they are to be conducted immediately, by the shortest route, to the first British post on Lake George, are to be supplied with provisions in the same manner as the other troops, and to be bound by the same condition of not serving during the present contest in North America:—10. Passports to be immediately granted for three officers, not exceeding the rank of captains, who shall be appointed by lieut. gen. Burgoyne, to carry despatches to Sir Wm. Howe, Sir Guy Carleton, and to Great-Britain by the way of New York; and major general Gates engages the public faith, that these despatches shall not be opened. These officers are to set out immediately after receiving their despatches, and are to travel by the shortest route,

route, and in the most expeditious manner:—11. During the stay of the troops in the Massachusetts-Bay, the officers are to be admitted on parole, and are to be permitted to wear their side arms:—12. Should the army under lieut. gen. Burgoyne, find it necessary to send for their clothing and other baggage from Canada, they are to be permitted to do it in the most convenient manner, and necessary passports to be granted for that purpose:—13. These articles are to be mutually signed and exchanged to-morrow morning at nine o'clock; and the troops under lieut. gen. Burgoyne, are to march out of their intrenchments at three o'clock in the afternoon. Camp at Saratoga, October 16, 1777.

HORATIO GATES, Major-General.

To prevent any doubts that might arise from lieut. gen. Burgoyne's name not being mentioned in the above treaty, major general Gates hereby declares, that he is understood to be comprehended in it, as fully as if his name had been specifically mentioned.

HORATIO GATES.

Such was the impatience of some of the militia to return home before the royal army had been brought to surrender, and so little their concern to be spectators of the event, that one of the Northampton regiments went off the day before the flag came out from Burgoyne. Another regiment took itself away while the treaty was in agitation. But the fate of the army will confirm the truth of what its commander wrote to lord George

George Germain, August the 20th, " the great bulk of the country is undoubtedly with the congress in principle and zeal." When after the convention the officers went into the American camp, they were surprised; and some of them said, that of all the camps they had ever seen in Germany, or elsewhere, they never saw any better disposed and secured.

The return signed by gen. Burgoyne, of the foreigners at the time of the convention, amounted to 2412. The British consisted, according to him, of 10 officers present—145 commissioned—the staff 26—sergeants and drummers 297—rank and file 2901—in all 3379; this added to the Germans, makes 5791. The American account, to show what was the sum total of the royal army acting in the northern department against the country, goes on to reckon, the sick taken 928—the wounded 528—prisoners of war before the convention 400—deserters 300—lost at Bennington 1220—killed between the 17th of September and the 18th of October 600—taken at Ticonderago 413—killed in gen. Herkimer's battle about 300—making in all 4689. According to this way of reckoning, the royal force was 10480. It was probably full 10,000 strong, including Canadians and provincials, and exclusive of Indians, drivers, sutlers, &c. Among the prisoners taken were six members of parliament.

The train of brass artillery was a fine acquisition; it consisted of 2 twenty-four pounders—4 twelves—20 sixes—6 threes—2 eight inch howitzers—5 five and a half royal ditto—and three five and a half inch royal mortars—in all, 42 pieces of ordnance. There were also 4647 muskets

kets—6000 dozen of cartridges, besides shot, carcasses, cases, shells, &c.

Burgoyne was desirous of a general return of the army commanded by Gates at the time of the convention. The latter understood him, and was careful not to lessen the return by suppressing a single man. The continentals, all ranks included, were 9093; the militia 4129, in all 13222; but of the former, the sick and on furlough were 2103; and of the latter, 562. The number of the militia was continually varying; and many of them were at a considerable distance from the camp.

Sir Henry Clinton, in the mean time, had sailed up the North River, and destroyed the two forts called Montgomery and Clinton, with Fort Constitution, and another place called Continental Village, where were barracks for 2000 men. Seventy large cannon were carried away, besides a number of smaller artillery, and a great quantity of stores and ammunition; a large boom and chain reaching across the river from Fort Montgomery to a point of land called St. Anthony's Nose, and which cost not less than seventy thousand pounds sterling, were partly destroyed and partly carried away, as was also, another boom of little less value at Fort Constitution. The loss of the British army was but small in number, though some officers of great merit were killed in the different attacks.

Another attack was made by Sir James Wallace with some frigates, and a body of land forces under General Vaughan. The place which now suffered was named Esopus: the fortifications were destroyed, and the town itself was wanton-

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ly reduced to ashes, as that called Continental Village had been before. Thus the British armament spent their time in wasting the adjacent country, when by pushing forward 136 miles in six days they might have effectually relieved Burgoyne.

But these successes, of whatever importance they might be, were now disregarded by both parties. They served only to irritate the Americans, flushed with their success; and they were utterly insufficient to raise the spirits of the British, who were now thrown into the utmost dismay.

CHAP. VII.

Treaty between France and America—Conciliatory Bill despised—Philadelphia evacuated—French Fleet arrives in America—Expedition against Georgia—South Carolina invaded—D'Estaing's Expedition against Georgia—Expeditions of the British against the northern Provinces—Attack of Penobscot.

ON the 16th of March 1778, Lord North intimated to the house of commons, that a paper had been laid before the king by the French ambassador, intimating the conclusion of an alliance between

between the court of France and the United States of America. The preliminaries of this treaty had been concluded in the end of the year 1777, and a copy of them sent to congress, in order to counteract any proposals that might be made in the mean time by the British ministry. On the 6th of February 1778, the articles were formally signed, to the great satisfaction of the French nation. They were in substance as follows :

1. If Great Britain should, in consequence of this treaty, proceed to hostilities against France, the two nations should mutually assist one another.

2. The main end of the treaty was, in an effectual manner to maintain the independency of America.

3. Should those places of North-America still subject to Britain be reduced by the colonies, they should be confederated with them, or subjected to their jurisdiction.

4. Should any of the West Islands be reduced by France, they should be deemed its property.

5. No formal treaty with Great Britain should be concluded either by France or America without the consent of each other : and it was mutually engaged that they should not lay down their arms till the independency of the States had been formally acknowledged.

6. The contracting parties mutually agreed to invite those powers that had received injuries from Great Britain to join the common cause.

7. The United States guaranteed to France all the possessions in the West Indies which she should conquer ; and France in her turn guaranteed

teed the absolute independency of the States, and their supreme authority over every country they possessed, or might acquire during the war.

The notification of such a treaty as this could not but be looked upon as a declaration of war. On its being announced to the house, every one agreed in an address to his majesty, promising to stand by him to the utmost in the present emergency; but it was warmly contended by the members in opposition, that the present ministry ought to be removed on account of their numberless blunders and miscarriages in every instance. Many were of opinion, that the only way to extricate the nation from its trouble was to acknowledge the independency of America at once; and thus they might still do with a good grace what must inevitably be done at last, after expending much more blood and treasure than had yet been lavished in this unhappy contest. The ministerial party, however, entertained different ideas. Instigated by zeal for the national honour, it was determined at once to resent the arrogance of France, and prosecute Hostilities against America with more vigour than ever should the terms now offered them be rejected.

The Americans in the mean time assiduously employed their agents at the courts of Spain, Vienna, Prussia and Tuscany, in order, if possible to conclude alliances with them or at least to procure an acknowledgment of their independency. As it had been reported that Britain intended to apply for assistance to Russia, the American commissioners were enjoined to use their utmost influence with the German princes to prevent such auxiliaries from marching through their territories,

ries, and to endeavour to procure the recal of the German troops already sent to America. To France they offered a cession of such West India islands as should be taken by the united strength of France and America; and should Britain by their joint endeavours be dispossessed of Newfoundland, Cape Breton and Nova Scotia, these territories should be divided betwixt the two nations, and Great Britain be totally excluded from the fishery. The proposals to the Spanish court were, that in case they should think proper to espouse their quarrel, the American states should assist, in reducing Pensacola under the dominion of Spain, provided their subjects were allowed the free navigation of the river Mississippi and the use of the harbour Pensacola; and they further offered, that, if agreeable to Spain, they would declare war against Portugal, should that power expel the American ships from its ports.

In the mean time the troops under General Burgoyne were preparing to embark for Britain according to the convention at Saratoga; but congress having received information, that many articles of ammunition and accoutrements had not been surrendered agreeably to the stipulated terms, and finding some cause to apprehend, that sinister designs were harboured on the part of Great Britain to convey these troops to join the army at Philadelphia or New-York, positively refused to let them embark, until an explicit ratification of the convention should be properly notified by the British court.

The season for action was now approaching; and congress was indefatigable in its preparations for a new campaign, which it was confidently
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said would be the last. Among other methods taken for this purpose, it was recommended to all the young gentlemen of the colonies to form themselves into bodies of cavalry to serve at their own expense during the war. General Washington at the same time, to remove all incumbrances from his army, lightened the baggage as much as possible, by substituting sacks and portmanteaus in place of chests and boxes, and using pack-horses instead of waggons. On the other hand the British army expecting to be reinforced by 20,000 men, thought of nothing but concluding the war according to their wishes before the end of the campaign. It was with the utmost concern, as well as indignation, therefore, that they received the news of Lord North's conciliatory bill. It was universally looked upon as a national disgrace; and some even tore the cockades from their hats, and trampled them under their feet as a token of their indignation. By the colonists it was received with indifference. The British commissioners endeavoured to make it as public as possible; and the congress, as formerly, ordered it to be printed in all the newspapers. On this occasion Governor Tryon inclosed several copies of the bill to General Washington in a letter, intreating him that he would allow them to be circulated; to which the General returned for answer a copy of a newspaper in which the bill was printed, with the resolutions of congress upon it. These were, That whoever presumed to make a separate agreement with Britain should be deemed a public enemy; that the United States could not with any propriety keep

keep correspondence with the commissioners until their independence was acknowledged; and the British fleets and armies removed from America. At the same time, the colonies were warned not to suffer themselves to be deceived into security by any offers that might be made; but to use their utmost endeavours to send their quotas with all diligence into the field. The individuals with whom the commissioners conversed on the conciliatory bill, generally returned for answer, that the day of reconciliation was past; and that the haughtiness of Britain had extinguished all filial regard in the breasts of Americans.

About this time also Mr. Silas Dean arrived from France with two copies of the treaty of commerce and alliance to be signed by congress. Advices of the most agreeable nature were also received from various parts, representing in the most favourable light the dispositions of the European powers; all of whom, it was said, wished to see the independence of America settled upon the most permanent basis. Considering the situation of matters with the colonists at this time, therefore, it was no wonder the commissioners found themselves unable to accomplish the errand on which they came. Their proposals were utterly rejected, themselves treated as spies, and, after a vain attempt by governor Johnstone, one of the commissioners, to bribe several members of congress, all intercourse with them was interdicted.

But before any final answer could be obtained from congress, Sir Henry Clinton had taken the resolution of evacuating Philadelphia. Accordingly,

ingly, on the tenth of June, after having made all necessary preparations, the army marched out of the city, and crossed the Delaware before noon, with all its baggage and other incumbrances. General Washington, apprised of this design, had despatched expresses into the Jerseys, with orders to collect all the force which could be assembled in order to obstruct the march of the enemy. After various movements on both sides, Sir Henry Clinton, with the royal army, arrived on the 27th of June, at a place called Freehold; where, judging that the enemy would attack him, he encamped in a very strong situation. Here General Washington determined to make an attack as soon as the army had again begun its march. The night was spent in making the necessary preparations, and Gen. Lee with his division, was ordered to be ready by day-break. But Sir Henry Clinton, justly apprehending the chief object of the enemy was the baggage, committed it to the care of General Knyp-hausen, whom he ordered to set out early in the morning, while he followed with the rest of the army. The attack was accordingly made; but the British general had taken such care to arrange his troops properly, and so effectually supported his forces when engaged with the Americans, that the latter not only made no impression, but were with difficulty preserved from a total defeat by the advance of General Washington with the whole army. The British troops effected their retreat in the night with the loss of 300 men, of whom many died through mere fatigue without any wound. In this action General Lee was charged by General Washington with disobedience

dience and misconduct in retreating before the British army. He was tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to a temporary suspension from his command. After they had arrived at Sandy-Hook, a bridge of boats was by Lord Howe's directions thrown from thence over the channel which separated the island from the main land, and the troops were conveyed aboard the fleet; after which they sailed to New-York.

After sending some light detachments to watch the enemy's motions, Gen. Washington marched towards the North River, where a great force had been collected to join him, and where it was now expected that some very capital operations would take place.

In the mean time France had set about her preparations for the assistance of the Americans. On the 14th of April Count d'Estaing had sailed from Toulon with a strong squadron of ships of the line and frigates, and arrived on the coast of Virginia, in the beginning of July whilst the British fleet was employed in conveying the forces from Sandy-Hook to New-York. It consisted of one ship of 90 guns, one of 80, six of 74, and four of 64, besides several large frigates; and exclusive of its complement of sailors, had 6000 marines and soldiers on board. To oppose this the British had only six ships of 64 guns, three of 50, and two of 40, with some frigates and sloops. Notwithstanding this inferiority, however, the British admiral posted himself so advantageously, and shewed such superior skill, that d'Estaing did not think proper to attack him; particularly, as the pilots informed him that it was impracticable to carry his large ships over
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the bar into the Hook, and General Washington pressed him to sail for Newport. He therefore remained at anchor four miles off Sandy-Hook till the 22d of July, without effecting any thing more than the capture of some vessels, which, through ignorance of his arrival, fell into his hands.

The next attempt of the French admiral was, in conjunction with the Americans, on Rhode-Island. It was proposed that d'Estaing, with the 6000 troops he had with him, should make a descent on the southern part of the island, while a body of the Americans should take possession of the north; at the same time the French squadron was to enter the harbour of Newport, and take and destroy all the British shipping. On the 8th of August the French admiral entered the harbour as was proposed, but found himself unable to do any material damage. Lord Howe, however, instantly set sail for Rhode-Island; and d'Estaing, confiding in his superiority, immediately came out of the harbour to attack him. A violent storm parted the two fleets, and did so much damage that they were rendered totally unfit for action. The French however, suffered most; and several of their ships being afterwards attacked singly by the British, very narrowly escaped being taken. On the 20th of August he returned to Newport in a very shattering condition; and, not thinking himself safe there, sailed two days after for Boston. General Sullivan had landed in the mean time on the northern part of Rhode-Island, with 10,000 men. On the 17th of August they began their operations by erecting batteries, and making their approach-

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es to the British lines. But General Pigot, who commanded in Newport, had taken such effectual care to secure himself on the land-side, that without the assistance of a marine force it was altogether impossible to attack him with any probability of success. The conduct of d'Estaing therefore who had abandoned them when master of the harbour, gave the greatest disgust to the people of New-England, and Sullivan began to think of a retreat. On perceiving his intentions, the garrison sallied out upon him with so much vigour, that it was not without difficulty that he effected his retreat. He had not been long gone when Sir Henry Clinton arrived with a body of 4000 men; which, had it arrived sooner, would have enabled the British commander to have gained a decisive advantage over him, as well as to have destroyed the town of Providence, which, by its vicinity to Rhode-Island, and the enterprises which were continually projected and carried on in that place, kept the inhabitants of Rhode-Island in continual alarms.

The first British expedition was to Buzzard's-Bay, on the coast of New-England and neighbourhood of Rhode Island. Here they destroyed a great number of privateers and merchantmen, magazines, with store-houses, &c.; whence proceeding to a fertile and populous island, called Martha's-Vineyard, they carried off 2000 sheep and 300 black cattle. Another expedition took place up the North-River, under Lord Cornwallis and General Knyphausen; the principal event of which was, the destruction of a regiment of American cavalry known by the name of Washington's Light Horse. A third expedition was directed

directed to Little Egg-Harbour in New-Jersey, a place noted for privateers, the destruction of which was its principal intention. It was conducted by Captains Ferguson and Collins, and ended in the destruction of the American vessels, as well as of the place itself. At the same time part of another body of American troops, called Pulaski's legion, was surprised and a great number of them put to the sword.

The Americans had in the beginning of the year projected the conquest of West-Florida; and one Captain Willing, with a party of resolute men, had made a successful incursion into the country. This awakened the attention of the British to the southern colonies, and an expedition against them was resolved on. Georgia was the place of destination; and the more effectually to ensure success, Colonel Campbell, with a sufficient force, under convoy of some ships of war, commanded by Commodore Hyde Parker, embarked at New-York; while General Prevost who commanded in East-Florida, was directed to set out with all the force he could spare. The armament from New-York arrived off the coast of Georgia in the month of December; and though the Americans were very strongly posted in an advantageous situation on the shore, the British troops made good their landing, and advanced towards Savannah the capital of the province. That very day they defeated the force of the provincials which opposed them; and took possession of the town with such celerity, that the Americans had not time to execute a resolution they had taken of setting it on fire. In ten days the whole province of Georgia was reduced;

ed ; Sunbury alone excepted ; and this was also brought under subjection by General Prevost in his march northward. Every proper method was taken to secure the tranquillity of the country ; and rewards were offered for apprehending committee and assembly men, or such as they judged most inimical to the British interests. On the arrival of General Prevost, the command of the troops naturally devolved on him as the senior officer ; and the conquest of Carolina was next projected.

In this attempt there was no small probability of success. The country contained a great number of friends to government, who now eagerly embraced the opportunity of declaring themselves, many of the inhabitants of Georgia had joined the royal standard ; and there was not in the province any considerable body of provincial forces capable of opposing the efforts of regular and well-disciplined troops. On the first view of General Prevost's approach, the loyalists assembled in a body, imagining themselves able to stand their ground until their allies should arrive ; but in this they were disappointed. The Americans attacked and defeated them with the loss of half their number. The remainder retreated into Georgia ; and after undergoing many difficulties, at last effected a junction with the British forces.

In the mean time, General Lincoln, with a considerable body of American troops, had encamped within 20 miles of the town of Savannah ; and another strong party had posted themselves at a place called *Briar's Creek*, farther up the river of the same name. Thus the extent of
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the British government was likely to be circumscribed within very narrow bounds. General Prevost therefore determined to dislodge the party at Briar's Creek : and the latter, trusting to their strong situation, and being remiss in their guard, suffered themselves to be surprised on the 30th of March 1779 ; when they were utterly routed with the loss of more than 300 killed and taken, besides a great number drowned in the river or the swamps. The whole artillery, stores, baggage and almost all the arms of this unfortunate party were taken, so that they could no more make any stand ; and thus the province of Georgia was once more freed from the Americans, and a communication opened with those places in Carolina where the royalists chiefly resided.

The victory at Briar's Creek proved of considerable service to the British cause. Great numbers of the loyalists joined the army and considerably increased its force. Hence he was enabled to stretch his posts further up the river, and to guard all the principal passes : so that General Lincoln was reduced to a state of inaction ; and at last moved off towards the Augusta, in order to protect the provincial assembly, which was obliged to sit in that place, the capital being now in the hands of the British.

Lincoln had no sooner quitted his post, than it was judged a proper time by the British general to put into execution the grand scheme which had been meditated against Carolina, many difficulties indeed lay in his way. The river Savannah was so swelled by the excessive rains of the season,

season, that it seemed impassable ; the opposite shore for a great way, was so full of swamps and marshes, that no army could march over it without the greatest difficulty ; and, to render the passage still more difficult, General Moultrie was left with a considerable body of troops in order to oppose the enemy's attempts, But in spite of every opposition, the constancy and perseverance of the British troops at last prevailed. General Moultrie was obliged to retire towards Charleston ; and the pursuing army after having waded through the marshes for some time, at last arrived in an open country, through which they pursued their march with great rapidity, towards the capital ; while General Lincoln made preparations to march to its relief.

Certain intelligence of the danger to which Charleston was exposed, animated the American general. A chosen body of infantry, mounted on horseback for the greater expedition, was despatched before him ; while Lincoln himself followed with all the forces he could collect. General Moultrie too, with the troops he had brought from Savannah, and some others he had collected since his retreat from thence, had taken possession of all the avenues leading to Charleston, and prepared for a vigorous defence. But all opposition proved ineffectual ; and the British army was allowed to come within cannon shot of Charleston on the 12th of May.

The town was now summoned to surrender, and the inhabitants would gladly have agreed to observe a neutrality during the rest of the war, and would have engaged also for the rest of the province. But these terms not being accepted, they

they made preparations for a vigorous defence. It was not, however, in the power of the British commander at this time to make an attack with any prospect of success. His artillery was not of sufficient weight: there were no ships to support his attack by land; and General Lincoln advancing rapidly with a superior army threatened to inclose him between his own force and the town; so that should he fail in his first attempt, certain destruction would be the consequence. For these reasons he withdrew his forces from before the town, and took possession of two islands, called *St. James's* and *St. John's*, lying to the southward; where having waited some time, his force was augmented by the arrival of two frigates. With these he determined to make himself master of Port Royal, another island possessed of an excellent harbour, and many other natural advantages, from its situation also commanding all the sea-coast from Charleston to Savannah River. The American general, however, did not allow this to be accomplished without opposition. Perceiving that his opponent had occupied an advantageous post on *St. John's* island preparatory to his enterprise against Port-Royal, he attempted, on the 20th of June, to dislodge them from it; but after an obstinate attack, the provincials were obliged to retire with considerable loss. On this occasion the success of the British arms was in a great measure owing to an armed float, which galled the right flank of their enemy so effectually, that they could direct their efforts only against the strongest part of the lines, which proved impregnable to their attacks. This disappointment was instantly followed by the loss of Port-Royal, which

which General Prevost took possession of, and put his troops into proper stations, waiting for the arrival of such reinforcements as were necessary for the intended attack on Charleston.

The profligate conduct of the refugees and the officers and soldiers of the British, in plundering the houses of individuals, during their incursion, is incredible. Negroes were seduced or forced from their masters; furniture and plate were seized without decency or authority; and the most infamous violations of every law of honour and honesty were openly perpetrated. Individuals thus accumulated wealth, but the reputation of the British arms incurred an everlasting stigma.

In the mean time Count d'Estaing, who as we have already observed, had put into Boston harbour to refit, had used his utmost efforts to ingratiate himself with the inhabitants of that city. Zealous also in the cause of his master, he had published a proclamation to be dispersed through Canada, inviting the people to return to their original Friendship with France, and declaring that all who renounced their allegiance to Great Britain should certainly find a protector in the king of France. All his endeavours, however, proved insufficient at this time to produce any revolution, or even to form a party of any consequence among the Canadians.

As soon as the French admiral had refitted his fleet, he took the opportunity, while that of Admiral Byron had been shattered by a storm, of sailing to the West-Indies. During his operations there, the Americans having represented his conduct as totally unserviceable to them, he received

ed orders from Europe to assist the colonies with all possible speed.

In compliance with these orders, he directed his course towards Georgia, with a design to recover that province out of the hands of the enemy, and to put it, as well as South Carolina, in such a posture of defence as would effectually secure them from any future attack. This seemed to be an easy matter, from the little force with which he knew he should be opposed; and the next object in contemplation was no less than the destruction of the British fleet and army at New York, and their total expulsion from the continent of America. Full of these hopes, the French commander arrived off the coast of Georgia with a fleet of 22 sail of the line and 10 large frigates. His arrival was so little expected, that several vessels laden with provisions and military stores fell into his hands; the *Experiment*, also, a vessel of 50 guns, commanded by Sir James Wallace, was taken after a stout resistance. On the continent, the British troops were divided. General Prevost, with an inconsiderable part, remained at Savannah; but the main force was under Colonel Maitland at Port Royal. On the first appearance of the French fleet, an express was despatched to Colonel Maitland: but it was intercepted by the Americans; so that before he could set out in order to join the commander in chief, the Americans had secured most of the passes by land, while the French fleet effectually blocked up the passage by sea. But, by taking advantage of creeks and inlets and marching over land, he arrived just in time to relieve Savannah.

D'Estaing

D'Estaing had allowed General Prevost 24 hours to deliberate whether he would capitulate or not. This time the general employed in making the best preparations he could for a defence; and during this time it was that Colonel Maitland arrived. D'Estaing's summons was now rejected. The garrison now consisted of 3000 men, all of approved valour and experience, while the united force of the French and Americans did not amount to 10,000. The event was answerable to the expectations of the British general. Having the advantage of a strong fortification and excellent engineers, the fire of the allies made so little impression that D'Estaing resolved to bombard the town, and a battery of nine mortars was erected for the purpose. This produced a request from General Prevost, that the women and children might be allowed to retire to a place of safety. But the allied commanders, from motives of policy, refused compliance; and they resolved to give a general assault. This was accordingly attempted on the 9th of October: but the assailants were every where repulsed with such slaughter, that 1200 were killed and wounded; among the former were Count Pulaski, the celebrated conspirator against the reigning king of Poland, and among the latter was D'Estaing himself.

This disaster entirely overthrew the sanguine hopes of the Americans and French; but so far from reproaches or animosity arising between them their common misfortune seemed to increase their confidence and esteem for each other; a circumstance fairly to be ascribed to the conciliatory conduct of General Lincoln upon every occasion.

occasion. After waiting eight days longer, both parties prepared for a retreat; the French to their shipping, and the Americans into Carolina.

While the allies were thus unsuccessfully employed in the southern colonies, their antagonists were no less assiduous in distressing them in the northern parts. Sir George Collier was sent with a fleet, carrying on board Gen. Matthews, with a body of land forces, into the province of Virginia. Their first attempt was on the town of Portsmouth; where though the Americans had destroyed some ships of great value, the British troops arrived in time to save a great number of others. On this occasion about 120 vessels of different sizes were burnt, and 20 carried off; and an immense quantity of provisions designed for the use of General Washington's army was either destroyed or carried off, together with a great variety of naval and military stores. The fleet and army returned with little or no loss to New-York.

The success with which this expedition was attended, soon gave encouragement to attempt another. The Americans had for some time been employed in the erection of two strong forts on the river; the one at Verplanks Neck on the east, and the other at Stoney-Point on the west side. These when completed would have been of the utmost service to the Americans, as commanding the principal pass, called the *King's Ferry*, between the northern and southern colonies. At present, however, they were not in a condition to make any effectual defence; and it was therefore determined to attack them before the works should be completed. The force employed on
this

this occasion was divided into two bodies; one of which directed its course against Verplanks, and the other against Stoney-Point. The former was commanded by general Vaughan, the latter by General Patterson, while the shipping was under the direction of Sir George Collier. General Vaughan met with no resistance, the Americans abandoning their works, and setting fire to every thing combustible that they could not carry off. At Stoney-Point, however, a vigorous defence was made, though the garrison was at last obliged to capitulate upon honourable conditions. To secure the possession of this last, which was the more important of the two, General Clinton removed from his former situation, and encamped in such a manner that General Washington could not give any assistance. The Americans, however, revenged themselves by distressing, with their numerous privateers, the trade to New-York.

This occasioned a third expedition to Connecticut, where these privateers were chiefly built and harboured. The command was given to Governor Tryon and to General Garth, an officer of known valour and experience. Under convoy of a considerable number of armed vessels they landed at Newhaven, where they demolished the batteries that had been erected to oppose them, and destroyed the shipping and naval stores but they spared the town itself, as the inhabitants had abstained from firing out of their houses upon the troops. From Newhaven they marched to Fairfield, where they proceeded as before, reducing the town also to ashes. Norfolk was next attacked, which in like manner was reduced

to ashes; as was also Greenfield, a small sea port in the neighbourhood. Such repeated conflagrations, wantonly and cruelly spread, served only to increase the disgust which was felt by every friend to the American cause.

These successes proved very alarming as well as detrimental to the Americans; so that General Washington determined at all events to drive the enemy from Stoney-Point. For this purpose he sent Gen. Wayne with a detachment of chosen men, directing him to attempt the recovery of it by surprise. On this occasion the Americans showed a spirit and resolution exceeding any thing either party had performed during the course of the war. Though after the capture of it by the British the fortifications of this place had been completed, and were very strong, they attacked the enemy with bayonets, after passing through a heavy fire of musquetry and grapeshot; and, in spite of all opposition, obliged the surviving part of the garrison, amounting to 500 men, to surrender themselves prisoners of war.

Though the Americans did not at present attempt to retain possession at Stoney-Point, the success they had met with in the enterprise emboldened them to make a similar attempt upon Paulus Hook, a fortified post on the Jersey side, opposite to New-York; but, although the heroism of the enterprise and the spirit with which it was executed deserves applause, after having completely surprised the posts, the American commander, Major Lee, finding it impossible to retain them, made an orderly retreat, with about 161 prisoners, among whom were seven officers.

Another

Another expedition of greater importance was now projected on the part of the Americans. This was against a Post on the river Penobscot, on the borders of Nova Scotia, of which the British had lately taken possession, and where they had begun to erect a fort which threatened to be a very great inconvenience to the colonists. The armament destined against it was so soon got in readiness, that Colonel MacLane, the commanding officer at Penobscot, found himself obliged to drop the execution of part of his scheme; and instead of a regular fort, to content himself with putting the works already constructed in as good a posture of defence as possible. The Americans could not effect a landing without a great deal of difficulty, and bringing the guns of their largest vessels to bear upon the shore. As soon as this was done, however, they erected several batteries, and kept up a brisk fire for the space of a fortnight; after which they proposed to give a general assault: but before this could be effected, they perceived Sir George Collier with a British fleet sailing up the river to attack them. On this they instantly embarked their artillery and military stores, sailing up the river as far as possible in order to avoid him. They were so closely pursued, however, that not a single vessel could escape, so that the whole fleet, consisting of 19 armed vessels and 24 transports, was destroyed; most of them indeed being blown up of themselves. The soldiers and sailors were obliged to wander through immense deserts, where they suffered much for want of provisions; and to add to their calamities, a quarrel broke out between the soldiers and seamen

men concerning the cause of their disaster, which ended in a violent fray, wherein a great number were killed.

To add to the distress of the Americans, the Indians, accompanied by a number of refugees, attacked the back settlements of Pennsylvania. No effectual measures being taken to repress the hostile spirit of the Indians, numbers joined the tory refugees, and with these commenced their horrid depredations and hostilities upon the back-settlers, being headed by col. Butler and Brandt, an half blooded Indian, of desperate courage, ferocious and cruel beyond example. Their expeditions were carried on to great advantage, by the exact knowledge which the refugees possessed of every object of their enterprise, and the immediate intelligence they received from their friends on the spot. The weight of their hostilities fell upon the fine, new, and flourishing settlement of Wyoming, situated on the eastern branch of the Susquehannah, in a most beautiful country and delightful climate. It was first settled and cultivated with great ardor, by a number of people from Connecticut, which claimed the territory as included in its original grant by Charles II. The settlement consisted of eight townships, each five miles square, beautifully placed on each side of the river. It had increased so by a rapid population, that they sent a thousand men to serve in the continental army. To provide against the dangers of their remote situation, four forts were constructed to cover them from the irruptions of the Indians. But it was their unhappiness, to have a considerable mixture of royalists amongst them; and the two parties were actuated

actuated by sentiments of the most violent animosity which was not confined to particular families or places : but creeping within the roofs and to the hearths and floors where it was least to be expected, served equally to poison the sources of domestic security and happiness, and to cancel the laws of nature and humanity.

They had frequent and timely warnings of the danger to which they were exposed by sending their best men to so great a distance. Their quiet had been interrupted by the Indians, joined by marauding parties of their own countrymen, in the preceding year : and it was only by a vigorous opposition, in a course of successful skirmishes, that they had been driven off. Several tories, and others not before suspected, had then and since abandoned the settlement : and beside a perfect knowledge of all their particular circumstances, carried along with them such a stock of private resentment, as could not fail of directing the fury, and even of giving an edge to the cruelty of their Indian and other inveterate enemies. An unusual number of strangers had come among them under various pretences, whose behaviour became so suspicious, that upon being taken up and examined, such evidence appeared against several of them, of their acting in concert with the enemy, on a scheme for the destruction of the settlements, that about twenty were sent off to Connecticut to be there imprisoned and tried for their lives, while the remainder were expelled. These measures excited the rage of the tories in general to the most extreme degree ; and the threats formerly denounced against
the

the settlers were now renewed with aggravated vengeance.

As the time approached for the final catastrophe, the Indians practised unusual treachery. For several weeks previous to the intended attack, they repeatedly sent small parties to the settlement, charged with the strongest professions of friendship. These parties, besides attempting to lull the people into security, answered the purposes of communicating with their friends, and of observing the present state of affairs. The settlers, however, were not insensible to the danger. They had taken the alarm, and col. Zebulon Butler had several times written letters to congress and Gen. Washington, acquainting them with the danger the settlement was in, and requesting assistance; but the letters were never received, having been intercepted by the Pennsylvania tories. A little before the main attack, some small parties made sudden irruptions, and committed several robberies and murders; and from ignorance or a contempt of all ties whatever, massacred the wife and five children of one of the persons sent for trial to Connecticut in their own cause.

At length, in the beginning of July, the enemy suddenly appeared in full force on the Susquehanna, headed by col. John Butler, a Connecticut tory, and cousin to col Zeb. Butler, the second in command in the settlement. He was assisted by most of those leaders, who had rendered themselves terrible in the present frontier war. Their force was about 1600 men, near a fourth Indians, led by their own chiefs; the others

were

were so disguised and painted as not to be distinguished from the Indians, excepting their officers who being dressed in regimentals, carried the appearance of regulars. One of the smaller forts, garrisoned chiefly by tories, was given up or rather betrayed. Another was taken by storm, and all but the women and children massacred in the most inhuman manner.

Col. Zeb. Butler, leaving a small number to guard fort Wilkiborough, crossed the river with about 400 men, and marched into Kingston fort, whither the women, children and defenceless of all forts crowded for protection. He suffered himself to be enticed by his cousin to abandon the fortress. He agreed to march out, and hold a conference with the enemy in the open field (at so great a distance from the fort, as to shut out all possibility of protection from it) upon their withdrawing according to their own proposal, in order to the holding of a parley for the conclusion of a treaty. He at the same time marched out about 400 men well armed, being nearly the whole strength of the garrison, to guard his person to the place of parley, such was his distrust of the enemy's designs. On his arrival he found nobody to treat with him, and yet advanced toward the foot of the mountain, where at a distance he saw a flag, the holders of which, seemingly afraid of treachery on his side, retired as he advanced; whilst he, endeavouring to remove this pretended ill-impression, pursued the flag, till his party were thoroughly inclosed, when he was suddenly freed from his delusion, by finding it attacked at once on every side. He and his men, notwithstanding the surprise and
danger,

danger, fought with resolution and bravery, and kept up so continual and heavy a fire for three quarters of an hour, that they seemed to gain a marked superiority. In this critical moment, a soldier, through a sudden impulse of fear, or premeditated treachery, cried out aloud, "the colonel has ordered a retreat." The fate of the party was now at once determined. In the state of confusion that ensued, an unresisted slaughter commenced, while, the enemy broke in on all sides without obstruction. Col. Zeb. Butler, and about seventy of his men escaped; the latter got across the river to fort Wilkesborough, the colonel made his way to fort Kingston; which was invested the next day on the land side. The enemy, to sadden the drooping spirits of the weak remaining garrison, sent in for their contemplation the bloody scalps of one hundred and ninety six of their late friends and comrades.—They kept up a continual fire upon the fort the whole day. In the evening the colonel quitted the fort and went down the river with his family. He is thought to be the only officer that escaped.

Colonel Nathan Dennison, who succeeded to the command, seeing the impossibility of an effectual defence, went out with a flag to col. John Butler, to know what terms he would grant on a surrender; to which application Butler answered with more than savage phlegm in two short words—*the hatchet*.—Dennison having defended the fort, till most of the garrison were killed or disabled was compelled to surrender at discretion. Some of the unhappy persons in the fort were carried away alive; but the barbarous conquerors, to save the trouble of murder in detail,
shut

shut up the rest promiscuously in the houses and barracks; which having set on fire, they enjoyed the savage pleasure of beholding the whole consumed in one general blaze.

They then crossed the river to the only remaining fort, Wilksborough, which in hopes of mercy surrendered without demanding any conditions. They found about seventy continental foldiers, who had been engaged merely for the defence of the frontiers, whom they butchered with every circumstance of horrid cruelty. The remainder of the men, with the women and children, were shut up as before in the houses, which being set on fire, they perished altogether in the flames.

A general scene of devastation was now spread through all the townships. Fire, sword, and the other different instruments of destruction alternately triumphed. The settlements of the tories alone generally escaped, and appeared as islands in the midst of the surrounding ruin. The merciless ravagers having destroyed the main objects of their cruelty, directed their animosity to every part of living nature belonging to them; shot and destroyed some of their cattle, and cut out the tongues of others, leaving them still alive to prolong their agonies.

CHAP. VIII.

*Spain joins the Confederacy against Great Britain—
Expedition of the British against Charleston—
Attack on Staten-Island—Proceedings of Congress
—Arrival of the French Troops—Gen. Gates
defeated—Gen. Arnold deserts—Unhappy Fate of
Major André—Arnold's Reasons for his Conduct
—other Reasons—Capture of Mr. Laurens.*

THUS the arms of America and France being almost every where unsuccessful, the independency of the former seemed yet to be in danger, notwithstanding the assistance of so powerful an ally, when further encouragement was given by the accession of Spain to the confederacy against Great Britain in the month of July 1779. The first effect of this appeared in an invasion of West Florida by the Spaniards in September 1779. As the country was in no state of defence, they easily made themselves masters of the whole, almost without opposition. Their next enterprise, was against the Bay of Honduras, where the British logwood-cutters were settled. These finding themselves too weak to resist, applied to the governor of Jamaica for relief, who sent them a supply of men, ammunition, and military stores, under Captain Dalrymple. Before the arrival of this detachment, the principal settlement in those parts, called St. Georges Key, had been taken by the Spaniards and re-taken

re-taken by the British. In his way Captain Dalrymple fell in with a squadron of Admiral Parker in search of some register ships richly laden; but which, retreating into the harbour of Omoa, were too strongly protected by the fort to be attacked with safety. A project was then formed in conjunction with the people of Honduras, to reduce this fort. The design was to surprise it; but the Spaniards having discovered them, they were obliged to fight. Victory quickly declared for the British; but the fortifications were so strong, that the artillery they had brought along with them were found too light to make any impression. It was then determined to try the success of an escalade; and this was executed with so much spirit, that the Spaniards stood astonished without making any resistance, and in spite of all the efforts of the officers, threw down their arms and surrendered. The spoil was immense, being valued at three millions of dollars. The Spaniards chiefly lamented the loss of 250 quintals of quicksilver; a commodity indispensably necessary in the working of their gold and silver mines, so that they offered to ransom it at any price; but this was refused, as well as the ransom of the fort, though the governor offered 300,000 dollars for it. A small garrison was left for the defence of the place: but it was quickly attacked by a superior force, and obliged to evacuate it, though not without destroying every thing that could be of use to the enemy; spiking the guns, and even locking the gates of the fort and carrying off the keys. All this was done in sight of the besiegers; after which the garrison embarked without the loss of a man.

As no operations of any consequence took place this year in the province of New-York, the congress made use of the opportunity to dispatch General Sullivan with a considerable force, in order to take vengeance on the Indians for their ravages and depredations. Of this the Indians were apprised; and collecting all their strength, resolved to come to a decisive engagement. Accordingly they took a strong post in the most woody and mountainous part of the country; erecting a breast-work in their front, of large logs of wood extending half a mile in length, while their right flank was covered by a river, and the left by a hill of difficult access. This advantageous position they had taken by the advice of the refugees who were among them, and of whom 200 or 300 were present in the battle.

Thus posted, the Indians waited the approach of the American army: but the latter having brought some artillery along with them, played it against the breast-work of the enemy with such success, that in two hours it was almost destroyed; and at the same time a party having reached the top of the hill, they became apprehensive of being surrounded, on which they instantly fled with precipitation, leaving a great number of killed and wounded behind them. The Americans after this battle met with no further resistance of any consequence. They were suffered to proceed without interruption. On entering the country of the Indians, it appeared that they had been acquainted with agriculture and the arts of peace far beyond what had been supposed. From General Sullivan's account it was learned,
that

that the Indian houses were large, convenient, and even elegant ; their grounds were excellently cultivated, and their gardens abounded in fruit-trees and vegetables of all kinds fit for food. The whole of this fine country would now have been converted into a desert, had it not been for the humane forbearance of General Hand and Colonel Durbin. The desolation, however, was extensive, and only to be justified by the savage character and example of their enemy.

We must now take a view of the transactions in the southern colonies ; to which the war was, in the year 1780, so effectually transferred, that the operations there became at last decisive. The success of General Prevost in advancing to the very capital of South-Carolina has been already related, together with the obstacles which prevented him from becoming master of it at that time. Towards the end of the year 1779, however, Sir Henry Clinton set sail from New-York with a considerable body of troops, intended for the attack of Charleston, South-Carolina, in a fleet of ships of war and transports under the command of Vice-admiral Arbuthnot. They had a very tedious voyage ; the weather was uncommonly bad ; several of the transports were lost, as were also the greater part of the horses which they carried with them, intended for cavalry or other public uses ; and an ordnance-ship likewise foundered at sea. Having arrived at Savannah, where they endeavoured to repair the damages sustained on their voyage, they proceeded from thence on the 10th of February, 1780, to North Edisto, the place of debarkation which had been previously appointed. They had a favourable
and

and speedy passage thither : and though it required time to have the bar explored and the channel marked, the transports all entered the harbour the next day ; and the army took possession of St. John's island, about 30 miles from Charleston, without opposition. Preparations were then made for passing the squadron over Charleston bar, where the high-water spring-tides were only 19 feet deep ; but no opportunity offered of going into the harbour till the 20th of March, when it was effected without any accident, though the American galleys continually attempted to prevent the English boats from founding the channel. The British troops had previously removed from John's to James's island ; and on the 29th of the same month they effected their landing on Charleston neck. On the 1st of April they broke ground within 800 yards of the American works ; and by the 8th the besiegers guns were mounted in battery.

As soon as the army began to erect their batteries against the town, Admiral Arbuthnot embraced the first favourable opportunity of passing Sullivan's island, upon which there was a strong fort of batteries, the chief defence of the harbour. He weighed on the 9th, with the *Roc-buck*, *Richmond*, and *Romulus*, *Blonde*, *Virginia*, *Raleigh*, and *Sandwich* armed ship, the *Renown* bringing up the rear ; and, passing through a severe fire, anchored in about two hours under James's island, with the loss of 27 seamen killed and wounded. The *Richmond's* fore-top-mast was shot away, and the ships in general sustained damage in their masts and rigging, though not materially in their hulls. But the

Accus

Acetus transport, having on board some naval stores, grounded within gun-shot of Sullivan's island, and received so much damage that she was obliged to be abandoned and burnt.

On the 10th, Sir Henry Clinton (having received a reinforcement of 3000 men from New-York) and Admiral Arbuthnot summoned the town to surrender to his majesty's arms; but Major-general Lincoln, who commanded in Charleston, returned them an answer, declaring it to be his intention to defend the place. The batteries were now opened against the town; and from their effect the fire of the American advanced works considerably abated. It appears that the number of troops under the command of Lincoln were by far too few for defending works of such extent as those of Charleston; and that many of these were men little accustomed to military service, and very ill provided with clothes and other necessaries. Lincoln had been for some time expecting reinforcements and supplies from Virginia and other places: but they came in very slowly. Earl Cornwallis, and Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton under him, were also extremely active in intercepting such reinforcements and supplies as were sent to the American general. They totally defeated a considerable body of cavalry and militia which was proceeding to the relief of the town; and also made themselves masters of some posts which gave them in a great degree the command of the country, by which means great supplies of provisions fell into their hands. Tarleton was himself, however defeated in a rencounter, with Lieutenant Colonel Washington,

Washington, at the head of a regular corps of horse.

Such was the state of things, and Fort Sullivan had also been taken by the king's troops, when on the 18th of May, General Clinton again summoned the town to surrender; an offer being made, as had been done before, that if they surrendered, the lives and property of the inhabitants should be preserved to them. Articles of capitulation were then proposed by General Lincoln; but the terms were not agreed to by General Clinton. At length, however, the town being closely invested on all sides, and the preparations to storm it in every part being in great forwardness, and the ships ready to move to the assault, General Lincoln, who had been applied to for that purpose by the inhabitants, surrendered it on such articles of capitulation as General Clinton had before agreed to. This was on the 4th of May, which was one month and two days after the town had been first summoned to surrender.

A large quantity of ordnance, arms, and ammunition, was found in Charleston; and, according to Sir Henry Clinton's account, the number of prisoners taken in Charleston amounted to 5618 men, exclusive of near a thousand sailors in arms; but according to General Lincoln's account transmitted to the congress, the whole number of continental troops taken prisoners amounted to no more than 197. The remainder, therefore, included in General Clinton's account consisted of militia and inhabitants of the town. Several American frigates were also taken or destroyed in the harbour of Charleston.

The

. The loss of Charleston evidently excited a considerable alarm in America : and the popular writers, particularly the author of the celebrated performance entitled *Common Sense*, in some other pieces made use of it as a powerful argument to lead them to more vigorous exertions against Great Britain, that they might the more effectually and certainly secure their independence.

While Sir Henry Clinton was employed in his voyage to Charleston, and in the siege of that place, the garrison at New-York seem not to have been wholly free from apprehensions for their own safety. An intense frost, accompanied with great falls of snow, began about the middle of December 1779, and shut up the navigation of the port of New-York from the sea, within a few days after the departure of Admiral Arbuthnot and General Clinton. The severity of the weather increased to so great a degree, that towards the middle of January all communications with New-York by water were entirely cut off, and as many new ones opened by the ice. The inhabitants could scarcely be said to be in an insular state. Horses with heavy carriages could go over the ice into the Jerseys from one island to another. The passage on the North River, even in the widest parts from New-York to Paulus Hook, which was 2000 yards, was about the 19th of January practicable for the heaviest cannon : an event which had been unknown in the memory of man. Provisions were soon after transported upon sledges, and a detachment of cavalry marched upon the ice from New-York

to

to Staten-Island, which was a distance of eleven miles.

The city of New-York being thus circumstanced, was considered as much exposed to attacks from the continental troops: and it was strongly reported that General Washington was meditating a great stroke upon New-York with his whole force, by different attacks. Some time before this, Major-General Pattison, commandant at New-York, having received an address from many of the inhabitants, offering to put themselves in military array, he thought the present a favourable opportunity of trying the sincerity of their professions. Accordingly he issued a proclamation, calling upon all the male inhabitants from 16 to 60 to take up arms. The requisition was so readily complied with, that in a few days 40 companies from the six wards of the city were enrolled, officered, and under arms, to the number of 2600, many substantial citizens serving in the ranks of each company. Other volunteer companies were formed; and the city was put into a very strong posture of defence.

No attack, however, was made upon New-York, whatever design might originally have been meditated; but an attempt was made upon Staten-Island, where there were about 1800 men, under the command of Brigadier-General Sterling, who were well entrenched. General Washington, whose army was huddled at Morris-town, sent a detachment of 2700 men, with six pieces of cannon, two mortars, and some horses, commanded by Lord Sterling, who arrived at Staten-Island early in the morning of the 15th of Janu-

ary,

ary. The advanced posts of the British troops retired upon the approach of the Americans, who formed the line, and made some movements in the course of the day; but they withdrew in the night after having burnt one house, pillaged some others, and carried off with them about 200 head of cattle. Immediately on the arrival of the Americans on Staten-Island, Lieutenant-General Knyphausen had embarked 600 men to attempt a passage, and to support General Sterling: but the floating ice compelled them to return. It is, however, imagined, that the appearance of these transports, with the British troops on board, which the Americans could see towards the close of the day, induced the latter to make so precipitate a retreat.

After Charleston had surrendered to the king's troops, General Clinton issued two proclamations, and also circulated a hand-bill among the inhabitants of South-Carolina, in order to induce them to return to their allegiance, and to be ready to join the king's troops. It was said, that the helping hand of every man was wanted to re-establish peace and good government; and that as the commander in chief wished not to draw the king's friends into danger, while any doubt could remain of their success; so, now, that this was certain, he trusted that one and all would heartily join, and by a general concurrence give effect to such necessary measures for that purpose as from time to time might be pointed out. Those who had families were to form a militia to remain at home, and occasionally to assemble in their own districts, when required under officers of their own choosing, for the maintainance of peace
and

and good order. Those who had no families, and who could conveniently be spared for a time, it was presumed, would cheerfully assist his majesty's troops in driving their oppressors, acting under the authority of congress, and all the miseries of war, far from that colony. For this purpose it was said to be necessary that the young men should be ready to assemble when required, and to serve with the king's troops for any six months of the ensuing twelve that might be found requisite, under proper regulations. They might choose officers to each company to command them; and were to be allowed, when on service, pay, ammunition, and provisions, in the same manner as the king's troops. When they joined the army, each man was to be furnished with a certificate, declaring that he was only engaged to serve as a militia-man for the time specified; that he was not to be marched beyond North-Carolina and Georgia; and that when the time was out, he was freed from all claims whatever of military service; excepting the common and usual militia duty where he lived. He would then, it was said, have paid his debt to his country, and be entitled to enjoy undisturbed that peace, liberty, and property at home, which he had contributed to secure. The proclamations and publications of General Clinton appear to have produced some effect in South Carolina; though they probably operated chiefly upon those who were before not much inclined to the cause of American independence. Two hundred and ten of the inhabitants of Charleston signed an address to General Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot, soliciting to be re-admitted to the character and condition

condition of British subjects, the inhabitants of that city having been hitherto considered as prisoners on parole; declaring their disapprobation of the doctrine of American independence; and expressing their regret, that after the repeal of those statutes which gave rise to the troubles in America, the overtures made by his majesty's commissioners had not been regarded by the congress. Sir Henry Clinton, in one of the proclamations issued at this time, declared, that if any person should thenceforward appear in arms in order to prevent the establishment of his majesty's government in that country, or should, under any pretence or authority whatsoever, attempt to compel any other person or persons to do so, or who should hinder or intimidate the king's faithful and loyal subjects from joining his forces, or otherwise performing those duties their allegiance required, such persons should be treated with the utmost severity, and their estates be immediately seized in order to be confiscated.

Mean time the ravages of war did not prevent the Americans from paying some attention to the arts of peace. On the 4th of May an act passed by the council and house of Representatives of Massachusetts-Bay for incorporating and establishing a society for the cultivation and promotion of the arts and sciences.

Some doubts having risen in the congress, towards the close of the preceding year, about the propriety of their assembling in the city of Philadelphia, it was now resolved that they should continue to meet there: and a committee of three members was appointed to report a proper place where buildings might be provided for the reception

tion of the congress, together with an estimate of the expense of providing such buildings, and the necessary offices for the several boards. It was also resolved by the congress, that a monument should be erected to the memory of their late General Richard Montgomery, who fell at Quebec, in testimony of his signal and important services to the United States of America, with an inscription expressive of his amiable character and heroic achievements; and that the continental treasurers should be directed to advance a sum not exceeding £300 to Dr. Franklin to defray the expense; that gentleman being desired to cause the monument to be executed at Paris, or in some other part of France. It was likewise resolved by the Congress, that a court should be established for the trial of all appeals from the court of Admiralty of the United States of America, in cases of capture; to consist of three judges, appointed and commissioned by congress, and who were to take an oath of office; and that the trials in this court should be determined by the usage of nations.

The difficulties of the congress and of the people of America had been greatly increased by the depreciation of their paper currency. At the time when the colonies engaged in a war with Great Britain, they had no regular civil governments established among them of sufficient energy to enforce the collection of taxes, or to provide funds for the redemption of such bills of credit as their necessities obliged them to issue. In consequence of this state of things, their bills increased in quantity far beyond the sum necessary for the purpose

pose of a circulating medium : and as they wanted at the same time specific funds to rest on for their redemption, they saw their paper-currency daily sink in value. The depreciation continued, by a kind of gradual progression, from the year 1777 to 1780: so that, at the latter period, the continental dollars were passed by common consent, in most parts of America, at the rate of at least $\frac{3}{4}$ ths below their nominal value. The impossibility of keeping up the credit of the currency to any fixed standard, occasioned great and almost insurmountable embarrassments in ascertaining the value of property, or carrying on trade with any sufficient certainty. Those who sold, and those who bought, were left without a rule whereon to form a judgment of their profit or their loss; and every species of commerce or exchange, whether foreign or domestic, was exposed to numberless and increasing difficulties. The consequences of the depreciation of the paper-currency were also felt with peculiar severity by such of the Americans as were engaged in their military services, and greatly augmented their other hardships. The requisitions made by the congress to the several colonies for supplies, were also far from being always regularly complied with : and their troops were not unfrequently in want of the most common necessaries; which naturally occasioned complaints and discontent among them. Such difficulties, resulted from their circumstances and situation, as perhaps no wisdom could have prevented. The cause of the Americans appears also to have suffered somewhat by their depending too much on temporary enlistments. But the congress endeavoured to-
wards

wards the close of the year 1780, to put their army upon a more permanent footing, and to give all the satisfaction to their officers and soldiers which their circumstances would permit. They appointed a committee for arranging their finances, and made some new regulations respecting the war-office and the treasury-board, and other public departments.

Notwithstanding the disadvantages under which they laboured, the Americans seemed to entertain no doubts but that they should be able to maintain their independency. The 4th of July was celebrated this year at Philadelphia with some pomp, as the anniversary of American independence. A commencement for conferring degrees in the arts was held the same day, in the hall of the university there; at which the president and members of the congress attended, and other persons in public offices. The Chevalier de la Luzerne, minister plenipotentiary from the French king to the United States, was also present on the occasion. A charge was publicly addressed by the provost of the university to the students; in which he said, that he could not but congratulate them “on that auspicious day, which, amidst the confusions and desolations of war, beheld learning beginning to revive; and animated them with the pleasing prospect of seeing the sacred lamp of science burning with a still brighter flame, and scattering its invigorating rays over the unexplored deserts of this extensive continent; until the whole world should be involved in the united blaze of knowledge, liberty, and religion. When he stretched his views forward (he said), and surveyed the rising glories of America,

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rica, the enriching consequences of their determined struggle for liberty, the extensive fields of intellectual improvement and useful invention, in science and arts, in agriculture and commerce, in religion and government, through which the unfettered mind would range, with increasing delight, in quest of the undiscovered treasure which yet lay concealed in the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms of the new world; or in the other fertile sources of knowledge with which it abounded,—his heart swelled with the pleasing prospect, that the sons of that institution would distinguish themselves, in the different walks of life, by their literary contributions to the embellishments and increase of human happiness.”

On the 10th of July, M. Ternay, with a fleet consisting of seven ships of the line, besides frigates, and a large body of French troops, commanded by the Count de Rochambeau, arrived at Rhode-Island; and the following day 6000 men were landed there. A committee from the general assembly of Rhode-Island was appointed to congratulate the French general upon his arrival: whereupon he returned an answer, in which he informed them, that the king his master had sent him to the assistance of his good and faithful allies the United States of America. At present, he said, he only brought over the vanguard of a much greater force destined for their aid; and the king had ordered him to assure them, that his whole power should be exerted for their support. He added, that the French troops were under the strictest discipline; and, acting under the orders of General Washington, would live with the Americans as their brethren.

A scheme

A scheme was soon after formed, of making a combined attack with English ships and troops, under the command of Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot, against the French fleet and troops at Rhode-Island. Accordingly a considerable part of the troops at New-York were embarked for that purpose. General Washington having received information of this, passed the North River, by a very rapid movement, and with an army encreased to 12,000 men, proceeded with celerity towards King's Bridge, in order to attack New-York; but learning that the British general had changed his intentions, and disembarked his troops on the 31st of the month, General Washington re-crossed the river and returned to his former station. Sir Henry Clinton and the Admiral had agreed to relinquish their design of attacking the French and Americans at Rhode-Island as impracticable for the present.

An unsuccessful attempt was also made about this time in the Jerseys by General Knyphausen, with 7000 British troops under his command, to surprise the advanced posts of General Washington's army. They proceeded very rapidly towards Springfield, meeting little opposition till they came to the bridge there, which was very gallantly defended by 170 of the continental troops, for 15 minutes, against the British army: but they were at length obliged to give up so unequal a contest, with the loss of 37 men. After securing this pass, the British troops marched into the place and set fire to most of the houses. They also committed some other depredations in the Jerseys; but gained no laurels there, being
obliged

obliged to return about the beginning of July without effecting any thing material.

But in South-Carolina the royal arms were attended with more success. Earl Cornwallis, who commanded the British troops there, obtained a signal victory over General Gates on the 16th of August. The action began at break of day, in a situation very advantageous for the British troops, but very unfavourable to the Americans. The latter were much more numerous, but the ground on which both armies stood was narrowed by swamps on the right and left, so that the Americans could not properly avail themselves of their superior numbers. The attack was made by the British troops with great vigour, and in a few minutes the action was general along the whole line. It was at this time a dead calm with a little haziness in the air, which preventing the smoke from rising, occasioned so thick a darkness, that it was difficult to see the effect of a very heavy and well supported fire on both sides. The British troops either kept up a constant fire, or made use of bayonets, as opportunities offered; and after an obstinate resistance during three quarters of an hour, threw the Americans into total confusion, and forced them to give way on all quarters. The continental troops behaved remarkably well, but the militia were soon broken, and left the former to oppose the whole force of the British troops. General Gates did all in his power to rally the militia, but without effect: the continentals retreated in some order; but the rout of the militia was so great, that the British cavalry are said to have continued the pursuit of them to the distance of 22 miles from the place where

where the action happened. The loss of the Americans was very considerable; about 1000 prisoners were taken, and more are said to have been killed and wounded, but the number is not very accurately ascertained. Seven pieces of brass cannon, a number of colours, and all the ammunition-waggons of the Americans, were taken. Of the British troops, the killed and wounded amounted to 213. Among the prisoners taken was Major general Baron de Kalb, a Prussian officer in the American service, who was mortally wounded, having exhibited great gallantry in the course of the action, and received 11 wounds. The British troops by which this victory was achieved, did not much exceed 2000, while the American army is said to have amounted to 6000; of which, however, the greatest part was militia.

Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, who had greatly distinguished himself in this action, was detached the following day, with some cavalry and light infantry, amounting to about 350 men, to attack a corps of Americans under General Sumpter. He executed this service with great activity and military address. He procured good information of Sumpter's movements; and by forced and concealed marches came up with and surprised him in the middle of the day on the 18th near the Catawba fords. He totally destroyed or dispersed his detachment, which consisted of 700 men, killing 150 on the spot, and taking two pieces of brass cannon, 300 prisoners, and 44 waggons.

Not long after these events, means were found to detach Major-general Arnold, who had engaged so ardently in the cause of America, and who had exhibited so much bravery in support of it,

it, from the interests of the congress. Major Andre, adjutant-general to the British army, was a principal agent in this transaction ; or, if the overture of joining the king's troops came first from Arnold, this gentleman was the person employed to concert the affair with him. More must have been originally comprehended in the scheme than the mere desertion of the American cause by Arnold: The surrender of West-Point into the hands of the royal army was the probable object ; but whatever designs had been formed for promoting the views of the British government, they were frustrated by the apprehending of Major Andre. He was taken in disguise, after having assumed a false name, on the 23d of September, by three American soldiers, to whom he offered considerable rewards if they would have suffered him to escape, but without effect. Several papers written by Arnold were found upon him ; and when Arnold had learned that Major Andre was seized, he found means to get on board a barge, and to escape to one of the king's ships. General Washington referred the case of Major Andre to the examination and decision of a board of general officers, consisting of Major-gen. Green, Major-general Lord Sterling, Major-general the Marquis de la Fayette, Major-general the Baron de Steuben, two other Major-generals, and eight brigadier-generals. Major Andre was examined before them, and the particulars of his case enquired into ; and they reported to the American commander in chief, that Mr. Andre came on shore from the Vulture sloop of war in the night, on an interview with General Arnold, in a private and secret manner ; that he changed his dress within

within the American lines ; and, under a feigned name, and in a disguised habit, passed the American works at Stoney and Verplank's points, on the evening of the 22d of September ; that he was taken on the morning of the 23d at Tarrytown, he being then on his way for New-York : and that, when taken, he had in his possession several papers which contained intelligence for the enemy. They therefore determined, that he ought to be considered as a spy from the enemy ; and that, agreeably to the law and usage of nations, he ought to suffer death. Sir Henry Clinton, Lieutenant-general Robertson, and the late American general Arnold, all wrote pressing letters to General Washington on the occasion, in order to prevent the decision of the board of general officers from being put in force ; but their applications were ineffectual. Major Andre was hanged at Tappan, in the province of New-York, on the 2d of October. He met his fate with great firmness ; but appeared somewhat hurt that he was not allowed a more military death, for which he had solicited. He was a gentleman of very amiable qualities, and had a taste for literature and the fine arts, and possessed many accomplishments. His death, therefore, was regretted even by his enemies ; and the seeming severity of the determination concerning him was much exclaimed against in Great Britain. It was however generally acknowledged by impartial persons, that there was nothing in the execution of this unfortunate gentleman but what was perfectly consonant to the rules of war.

Arnold

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Arnold was made a brigadier-general in the king's service, and published an address to the inhabitants of America, dated from New-York, October 7, in which he endeavoured to justify his desertion of their cause. He said, when he first engaged in it, that he conceived the rights of his country to be in danger, and that duty and honour called him to her defence. A redress of grievances was his only aim and object; and therefore he acquiesced unwillingly in the declaration of independence, because he thought it precipitate. But what now induced him to desert their cause was the disgust he had conceived at the French alliance, and at the refusal of Congress to comply with the last terms offered by Great Britain, which he thought equal to all their expectations and to all their wishes.

The Americans, however, accounted for the conduct of Arnold in a different and in a more probable and satisfactory manner. They alledged that he had so involved himself in debts and difficulties by his extravagant manner of living in America, that he had rendered it very inconvenient for him to continue there: that after the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British troops, Arnold, being invested with the command in that city, had made the house of Mr. Penn, which was the best in the city, his head quarters. This he had furnished in an elegant and expensive manner, and lived in a style far beyond his income. It was manifest, they said, that he could at first have no great aversion to the French alliance, because that when M. Gerard, minister plenipotentiary from the court of France, arrived at Philadelphia in July 1778, General Arnold
early

early and earnestly solicited that minister, with his suite, to take apartments and bed and board at his house, until a proper house could be provided by the order of the congress. This offer M. Gerard accepted, and continued with him some weeks. The French minister resided upwards of fourteen months in Philadelphia; during which time General Arnold kept up the most friendly and intimate acquaintance with him, and there was a continued interchange of dinners, balls, routes, and concerts: so that M. Gerard must have believed, that in General Arnold he had found and left one of the warmest friends the court of France had in America. He was also one of the first in congratulating the Chevalier de la Luzerne, the second French minister. About this time also, complaints and accusations were exhibited against him by the government of Philadelphia for divers mal-practices; among which charges were, the appropriation of goods and merchandise to his own use, which he had seized as British property in Philadelphia in July 1778. It was determined by a court-martial that his conduct was highly reprehensible; but he was indulgently treated, and was therefore only reprimanded by the commander in chief General Washington. It was in these circumstances, the Americans said, bankrupted in reputation, and fortune, loaded with debts, and having a growing and expensive family, that General Arnold first turned his thoughts towards joining the royal arms.

After the defeat of General Gates by Earl Cornwallis, that nobleman exerted himself to the utmost in extending the progress of the British
arms,

arms, and with considerable effect. But one enterprise, which was conducted by Major Fergusson, proved unsuccessful. That officer had taken abundant pains to discipline some of the Tory militia, as they were termed; and with a party of these, and some British troops, amounting in the whole to about 1400 men, made incursions into the country. But on the 7th of October, he was attacked by a superior body of Americans, at a place called King's-Mountain, and totally defeated. One hundred and fifty were killed in the action; and 810 made prisoners, of which 150 were wounded. Fifteen hundred stands of arms also fell into the hands of the Americans, whose loss was inconsiderable. But the following month Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton, with a party of 170, chiefly cavalry, attacked General Sumpter, who is said to have had 1000 men, at a place called Black stocks, and obliged him to retire. Sumpter was wounded, and about 120 of the Americans killed, wounded, or taken. Of the British troops about 50 were killed or wounded.

On the 3d of September, the Mercury, a congress packet, was taken by the Vestal, Captain Keppel, near Newfoundland. On board this packet was Mr. Laurens, late president of the congress, who was bound on an embassy to Holland. He had thrown his papers overboard, but great part of them were recovered without having received much damage. He was brought to London, and examined before the privy-council; in consequence of which he was committed close prisoner to the Tower, on the 6th of October, on a charge of high treason. His papers
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were delivered to the ministry, and contributed to facilitate a rupture with Holland, as among them was found the sketch of a treaty of amity and commerce between the Republic of Holland and the United States of America.

CHAP. IX.

Revolt of the Pennsylvania line—Tarleton defeated—Battle at Guildford—Battle at Eutaw—Action between the French and British Fleets off the Chesapeak—Capture of Cornwallis.

AT the beginning of the year 1781, an affair happened in America, from which expectations were formed by Sir Henry Clinton, that some considerable advantage might be derived to the royal cause. The long continuance of the war, and the difficulties under which the congress laboured, had prevented their troops from being properly supplied with necessaries and conveniencies. In consequence of this, on the first of January the American troops that were huddled at Morris-town, and who formed what was called the *Pennsylvania line*, turned out, being in number 1300, and declared, that they would serve no longer, unless their grievances were redressed, as they had not received their pay or
been

been furnished with the necessary clothing or provisions. It is said that they were somewhat inflamed with liquor, in consequence of rum having been distributed to them more liberally than usual, new-year's day being considered as a kind of festival. A riot ensued, in which an officer was killed, and four wounded; five or six of the insurgents were also wounded. They then collected the artillery, stores, provisions, and waggons, and marched out of the camp. They passed by the quarters of General Wayne, who sent a message to them, requesting them to desist, or the consequences would prove fatal. They refused, and proceeded on their march till the evening, when they took post on an advantageous piece of ground, and elected officers from among themselves. On the second day they marched to Middlebrook, and on the third to Princeton, where they fixed their quarters. On that day a flag of truce was sent to them from the officers of the American camp, with a message, desiring to know what were their intentions. Some of them answered, that they had already served longer than the time for which they were enlisted, and would serve no longer; and others, that they would not return, unless their grievances were redressed. But at the same time they repeatedly, and in the strongest terms, denied being influenced by the least disaffection to the American cause, or having any intentions of deserting to the enemy.

Intelligence of this transaction was soon conveyed to New-York. A large body of British troops were immediately ordered to hold themselves in readiness to move on the shortest notice,
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it being hoped that the American revolvers might be induced to join the royal army. Messengers were also sent to them from General Clinton, acquainting them that they should directly be taken under the protection of the British government; that they should have a free pardon for all former offences, and that the pay due to them from the congress should be faithfully paid them without any expectation of military service, unless it should be voluntary, upon condition of their laying down their arms and returning to their allegiance. It was also recommended to them to move beyond the South River; and they were assured, that a body of British troops should be ready to protect them whenever they desired it. These propositions were rejected with disdain; and they even delivered up two of Sir Henry Clinton's messengers to the congress. Joseph Reid, Esq. president of the state of Pennsylvania, afterwards repaired to them at Princeton, and an accommodation took place: such of them as had served out their full terms were permitted to return to their own homes, and others again joined the American army, upon receiving satisfactory assurances that their grievances should be redressed.

On the 11th of January Lord Cornwallis advanced towards North Carolina. He wished to drive Gen. Morgan from his station, and to deter the inhabitants from joining him. The execution of this business was intrusted to Lieut. Col. Tarleton; who was detached with the light and legion infantry, the fusileers, the first battalion of the 71st regiment, about 350 cavalry, two field pieces, and an adequate proportion of men
from

from the royal artillery, upwards of 1100 in the whole. This detachment, after a progress of some days, by fatiguing marches, at about ten o'clock on the evening of 16th of January, reached the ground which Morgan had quitted but a few hours before. The pursuit recommenced by two o'clock the next morning, and was rapidly continued through marshes and broken grounds till day light, when the Americans were discovered in front. Two of their videttes were taken soon after, who gave information that Morgan had halted and prepared for action, at a place called the Cowpens, near Pacolet river. The British, besides their field pieces, had the superiority in infantry, in the proportion of five to four, and in cavalry of more than three to one. Beside, nearly two thirds of the troops under Morgan were militia. Morgan had obtained early intelligence of Tarleton's force and advances; and had drawn up his men in two lines. The whole of the North and South Carolina militia present was put under the command of Colonel Pickens, and formed the first line; which was advanced a few hundred yards before the second, with orders to form on the right of the second when forced to retire. The second line consisted of the light infantry under Lieut. Col. Howard, and the Virginia riflemen. Lieut. Col. Washington, with his cavalry, and about forty-five militia men, mounted and equipped with swords, under Lieut. Col. McCall, were drawn up at some distance in the rear of the whole. The open wood in which they were formed was neither secured in front, flank, or rear. Without the delay of a single moment,
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and in despite of extreme fatigue the light legion infantry and fusileers were ordered to form in line. Before the order was executed, and while Major Newmarsh, who commanded the latter corps, was posting his officers, the line, though far from complete, was led to the attack by Tarleton himself. The British advanced with a shout, and poured in an incessant fire of musquetry. Col. Pickens directed the militia not to fire till the British were within forty or fifty yards. This order, though executed with great firmness and success, was not sufficient to repel the enemy. The American militia gave way on all quarters. The British advanced rapidly, and engaged the second line. The continentals, after an obstinate conflict, were compelled to retreat to the cavalry. Col. Ogilvie, with his troop of forty men, had been ordered to charge the right flank of the Americans, and was engaged in cutting down the militia; but being exposed to a heavy fire, and charged at the same time by Washington's dragoons, was forced to retreat in confusion. A great number of the British infantry officers had already fallen, and nearly a proportionable number of privates. The remainder being too few too much fatigued, could not improve the advantage gained over the continentals; and Tarleton's legion cavalry standing aloof instead of advancing, Lieut. Col. Howard seized the favourable opportunity, rallied the continentals, and charged with fixed bayonets, nearly at the same moment when Washington made his successful attack. The example was instantly followed by the militia. Nothing could exceed the astonishment of the British, occasioned by these unexpected

pected charges. Their advance fell back, and communicated a panic to others, which soon became general. Two hundred and fifty horse which had not been engaged, fled through the woods with the utmost precipitation, bearing down such officers as opposed their flight, and the cannon were soon seized by the Americans, the detachment from the train being either killed or wounded in their defence. The greatest confusion now followed among the infantry. In the moment of it Lieut. Col. Howard called to them to lay down their arms, and promised them good quarters. Some hundreds accepted the offer, and surrendered. The first battalion of the 71st regiment, and two British light infantry companies laid down their arms to the American militia. The only body of infantry that escaped, was a detachment left at some distance to guard the baggage. Early intelligence of their defeat was conveyed to the officer commanding that corps by some royalists. What part of the baggage could not be carried off he immediately destroyed; and with his men mounted on the waggon and spare horses, he retreated to Lord Cornwallis. The British had 10 commissioned officers, and upwards of 100 rank and file killed. Two hundred wounded, 29 commissioned officers, and above 500 privates prisoners, fell into the hands of the Americans, besides two pieces of artillery (first taken from the British at Saratoga, then re-taken by them at Camden, and now recovered by the Americans) two standards, 800 muskets, 35 baggage waggons, and upwards of 100 dragoon horses. Washington pursued Tarleton's cavalry for several miles; but the far
greater

greater part of them escaped. They joined their army in two separate divisions. One arrived in the neighbourhood of the British encampment upon the evening of the same day ; the other under Tarleton appeared the next morning. Although Tarleton's troops had waged a most cruel warfare, and their progress had been marked with burnings and devastations, not a man of them was killed, wounded, or even insulted after he had surrendered. The Americans had only twelve men killed and sixty wounded.

This defeat of the troops under Tarleton, while it re-animated the desponding friends of America, and brightened their hopes, was a severe stroke to Lord Cornwallis, as the loss of his light infantry was a great disadvantage to him. The day after the event he employed in collecting the remains of Tarleton's corps, and in endeavouring to form a junction with General Leslie, who had been ordered to march towards him with a body of British troops from Wynneshorough. Considerable exertions were then made by part of the army, without baggage, to retake the prisoners in the hands of the Americans, and to intercept General Morgan's corps on its retreat to the Catawba. But that American officer, after his defeat of Tarleton, had made forced marches up into the country, and crossed the Catawba the evening before a great rain, which swelled the river to such a degree, as to prevent the royal army from crossing for several days ; during which time the British prisoners were got over the Yadkin ; whence they proceeded to Dan River, which they also passed, and on the 14th
of

of February had reached Court-House in the province of Virginia.

Lord Cornwallis employed a halt of two days in collecting some flour, and in destroying superfluous baggage and all his waggons, excepting those laden with hospital stores, salt, and ammunition, and four reserved empty in readiness for sick or wounded. Being thus freed from all unnecessary incumbrance, he marched through North-Carolina with great rapidity, and penetrated to the remotest extremities of that province on the banks of the Dan. His progress was sometimes impeded by parties of the militia, and some skirmishes ensued, but he met with no very considerable opposition. On the first of February the king's troops crossed the Catawba at M'Cowan's Ford, where General Davidson, with a party of American militia, was posted, in order to oppose their passage; but he falling by the first discharge, the royal troops made good their landing, and the militia retreated. When Lord Cornwallis arrived at Hillsborough, he erected the king's standard, and invited, by proclamation, all loyal subjects to repair to it, and to stand forth and take an active part in assisting his Lordship to restore order and government. He had been taught to believe that the king's friends were numerous in that part of the country: but the event did not confirm the truth of the representations that had been given. The royalists were but few in number, and some of them too timid to join the king's standard. There were, indeed, about 200 who were proceeding to Hillsborough under colonel Pyle, in order to avow their attachment to the royal cause; but they were met accidentally

cidentally and surrounded by a detachment from the American army, by whom most of them were cut in pieces. Meanwhile General Green was marching with great expedition with the troops under his command, in order to form a junction with some other corps of American troops, that he might thereby be enabled to put some effectual stop to the progress of Lord Cornwallis.

In other places some considerable advantages were obtained by the royal arms. On the 4th of January, some ships of war with a number of transports, on board which was a large body of troops under the command of Brigadier-General Arnold, arrived at Westover, about 140 miles from the Capes of Virginia, where the troops immediately landed and marched to Richmond; which they reached without opposition, the militia that was collected having retreated on their approach. Lieutenant-Colonel Sincoe marched from hence with a detachment of the British troops to Westham, where they destroyed one of the finest foundries for cannon in America, and a large quantity of stores and cannon. General Arnold, on his arrival at Richmond, found there large quantities of salt, rum, sail cloth, and tobacco, the last of which he destroyed to a very great amount. The British troops afterwards attacked and dispersed some small parties of the Americans, took some stores and a few pieces of cannon, and on the 20th of the same month marched into Portsmouth. On the 25th, Captain Barclay, with several ships of war, and a body of troops under the command of Major Craig,

Craig, arrived in Cape-Fear River. The troops landed about nine miles from Wilmington, and on the 28th entered that town. It was understood that their having possession of that town, and being masters of Cape-Fear River, would be productive of very beneficial effects to Lord Cornwallis's army.

General Green having effected a junction about the 10th of March with a continental regiment of what were called *eighteen months men*, and two large bodies of militia belonging to Virginia and North-Carolina, formed a resolution to attack the British troops under the command of Lord Cornwallis. The American army marched from the High Rock Ford on the 12th of the month, and on the 14th arrived at Guildford. Lord Cornwallis, from the information he had received of the motion of the American general, concluded what were his designs. As they approached more nearly to each other, a few skirmishes ensued between some advanced parties, in which the advantage was sometimes gained by the Americans and sometimes by the British. On the morning of the 15th, Lord Cornwallis marched with his troops at day-break in order to meet the Americans or to attack them in their encampment. About four miles from Guildford, the advanced guard of the British army, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, fell in with a corps of the Americans, consisting of Lieutenant-colonel Lee's legion, some Back-Mountain men and Virginian militia, with whom he had a severe skirmish, and was, at length, obliged to retreat.

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The greater part of the country in which the action happened is a wilderness, with a few cleared fields interspersed. The American army was posted on a rising ground about a mile and a half from Guildford court house. It was drawn up in three lines; the front line was composed of the North-Carolina militia, under the command of the generals Butler and Eaton; the second line of Virginian militia, commanded by the generals Stephens and Lawson, forming two brigades; the third line, consisting of two brigades, one of Virginia and one of Maryland continental troops, commanded by General Huger and Col. Williams. Lieutenant-Colonel Washington with the dragoons of the first and third regiments, a detachment of light infantry composed of continental troops, and a regiment of riflemen under colonel Lynch, formed a corps of observation for the security of their right flank. Lieutenant-colonel Lee, with his legion, a detachment of light infantry, and a corps of riflemen under Colonel Campbell, formed a corps of observation for the security of their left flank. The attack of the American army was directed to be made by Lord Cornwallis in the following order: On the right, the regiment of Bose and the 71st regiment, led by Major-general Leslie, and supported by the first battalion of guards; on the left, the 23d and 33d regiments, led by Lieutenant-colonel Webster, and supported by the grenadiers and second battalion of guards commanded by Brigadier-general O'Hara; the Yagers and light infantry of the guards remained in a wood on the left of the guns, and the cavalry in the road,

road, ready to act as circumstances might require.

About half an hour after one in the afternoon, the action commenced by a cannonade which lasted about twenty minutes; when the British troops advanced in 3 columns and attacked the North-Carolina brigades with great vigour, and soon obliged part of these troops to quit the field: but the Virginia militia gave them a warm reception, and kept up a heavy fire for a long time, till, being beaten back, the action became general almost every where. The American corps under the Lieutenant-colonels Washington and Lee were also warmly engaged, and did considerable execution. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton had directions to keep his cavalry compact, and not to charge without positive orders, except to protect any of the corps from the most evident danger of being defeated. The excessive thickness of the woods rendered the British bayonets of little use, and enabled the broken corps of Americans to make frequent stands with an irregular fire. The second battalion of guards first gained the clear ground near Guildford court-house, and found a corps of continental infantry, superior in number, formed in an open field on the left of the road. Desirous of signaling themselves, they immediately attacked and soon defeated them, taking two six pounders: but as they pursued the Americans into the wood with too much ardour, they were thrown into confusion by a heavy fire, and instantly charged and driven back into the field by Lieutenant-colonel Washington's dragoons, with the loss of the two six pounders they had taken. But the American
cavalry

cavalry were afterwards repulsed and the two six pounders again fell into the hands of the British troops. The British troops having at length broken the second Maryland regiment, and turned the left flank of the Americans, got into the rear of the Virginia brigade, and appeared to be gaining their right, which would have encircled the whole of the continental troops, when Gen. Green thought it prudent to order a retreat. Many of the American militia dispersed in the woods ; but the continental troops retreated in good order to Reedy Fork River, and crossed at the ford about three miles from the field of action and there halted. When they had collected their stragglers, they retreated to the iron-works ; ten miles distant from Guildford, where they encamped. They lost their artillery and two waggons laden with ammunition. It was a hard fought action, and lasted an hour and a half. Of the British troops, the loss, as stated by Lord Cornwallis, was 532 killed, wounded, and missing. General Green in his account of the action transmitted to Congress, stated the loss of the continental troops to amount to 329 killed, wounded, and missing ; but he made no estimate of the loss of the militia, which was somewhat more than 100. Lieutenant-colonel Stuart was killed in the action ; and Lieutenant-colonel Webster, and the captains Schuts, Maynard, and Goodriche, died of the wounds they had received in it. Brigadier general O'Hara, Brigadier-general Howard, and Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, were also wounded. Of the Americans the principal officer killed was Major Anderson

derfon of the Maryland line, and the generals Stephens and Huger were wounded.

The British troops underwent great hardships in the courfe of this campaign : and in a letter of Lord Cornwallis's to Lord George Germain, dated March 17th, he observed, that "the foldiers had been two days without bread." His lordship quitted Guildford three days after the battle which was fought in that place ; and on the 7th of April, after a retreat marked with proofs of great alarm and precipitation, arrived in the neighbourhood of Wilmington. Soon after General Green, notwithstanding his late defeat, endeavoured to make fome vigorous attempts againft the king's forces in South-Carolina. Lord Rawdon had been appointed to defend the poft of Camden, with about 800 British and provincials ; and on the 19th of April General Green appeared before that place with a large body of continentals and militia. He found it, however, impoffible to attempt to ftorm the town with any profpect of fuccefs ; and therefore endeavoured to take fuch a pofition as fhould induce the British troops to fally from their works. He pofted the Americans about a mile from the town, on an eminence which was covered with woods, and flanked on the left by an impaffable fwamp. But on the morning of the 25th, Lord Rawdon marched out of Camden, and attacked General Green in his camp. The Americans made a vigorous refiftance, but were at length compelled to give way ; and the purfuit is faid to have been continued three miles. For fome time after the action commenced, General Green entertained great hopes of defeating the British troops ; in
which

which, as the Americans were superior in point of numbers, he would probably have succeeded, had not some capital military errors been committed by one or two of the officers who served under him. On the American side Colonel Washington had behaved extremely well in this action, having made upwards of 200 of the English prisoners, with 10 or 12 officers, before he perceived that the Americans were abandoning the field of battle. The loss of the English was about 100 killed and wounded. Upwards of 100 of the Americans were taken prisoners; and, according to the account published by General Green, they had 126 killed and wounded. After this action Green retreated to Rugeley's mills, 12 miles from Camden, in order to collect his troops and wait for reinforcements.

Notwithstanding the advantage which Lord Rawdon had obtained over General Green at Camden, that nobleman soon after found it necessary, having burned the goal, mills, many private houses, and a part of his own baggage, to quit that post; and the Americans made themselves masters of several other posts that were occupied by the king's troops, and the garrisons of which were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war. These troops were afterwards exchanged under a cartel which took place between Lord Cornwallis and General Green for the release of all prisoners of war in the southern district. After these events, General Green laid close siege to Ninety-six, which was considered as the most commanding and important of all the posts in the back country; and on the 19th of June he attempted to storm the garrison, but was repulsed

repulsed by the gallantry of the British troops, with the loss of about 150 killed, wounded, and missing. General Green then raised the siege, and retired with his army behind the Saluda, to a strong situation, within 16 miles of Ninety-six.

On the 18th of April a large body of British troops, under the command of Major-General Philips and Brigadier-general Arnold, embarked at Portsmouth in Virginia, in order to proceed on an expedition for the purpose of destroying some of the American stores. A party of light-infantry were sent 10 or 12 miles up the Chickahomany; where they destroyed several armed ships, sundry ware-houses, and the American state ship-yards. At Petersburg, the English destroyed 4000 hogsheads of tobacco, one ship, and a number of small vessels on the stocks and in the River. At Chesterfield court-house, they burnt a range of barracks for 2000 men and 300 barrels of flour. At a place called *Osborn's*, they made themselves masters of several vessels loaded with cordage and flour, and destroyed about 2000 hogheads of tobacco and sundry vessels were sunk and burnt. At Warwick, they burnt a magazine of 500 barrels of flour, some fine mills belonging to Colonel Carey, a large range of public rope-walks and store-houses, tan and bark houses full of hides and bark, and great quantities of tobacco. A like destruction of stores and goods was made in other parts of Virginia.

From the account already given of some of the principal military operations of the present year in America, it appears, that though advantages had been gained by the royal troops, yet no event
had

had taken place from which it could rationally be expected that the final termination of the war would be favourable to Great-Britain. It was also a disadvantageous circumstance, that there was a misunderstanding between Admiral Arbuthnot and Sir Henry Clinton, and a mutual disapprobation of each others conduct. This was manifest from their dispatches to government, and especially from those of General Clinton, whose expressions respecting the conduct of the admiral were by no means equivocal.

On the 16th of March 1781, a partial action happened off the Capes of Virginia, between the fleet under Admiral Arbuthnot, consisting of seven ships of the line and one fifty-gun ship, and a French squadron consisting of the same number of ships of the line, and one forty-gun ship. Some of the ships in both fleets received considerable damage in the action, and the loss of the English was 30 killed and 73 wounded; but no ship was taken on either side. The British fleet, however, claimed the advantage; as the French were obliged to retire, and were supposed to be prevented by this action from carrying troops up the Chesapeake, in order to attack General Arnold and impede the progress of Lord Cornwallis. But it was thought an unfortunate circumstance, that some time before this engagement the *Romulus*, a ship of 44 guns, was captured by the French off the Capes of Virginia.

Lord Cornwallis, after his victory over General Green at Guildford, proceeded, as we have seen, to Wilmington, where he arrived on the 7th of April. But before he reached that place, he published a proclamation, calling upon all
loyal

loyal subjects to stand forth and take an active part in restoring good order and government ; and declaring to all persons who had engaged in the present rebellion against his majesty's authority, but who were now convinced of their error, and desirous of returning to their duty and allegiance, that if they would surrender themselves with their arms and ammunition at head-quarters, or to the officer commanding in the districts contiguous to their respective places of residence, on or before the 20th of that month, they should be permitted to return to their respective homes upon giving a military parole ; they would be protected, in their persons and properties, from all sorts of violence from the British troops ; and would be restored as soon as possible, to all the privileges of legal and constitutional government. But it does not appear that any considerable number of the Americans were allured by these promises to give any evidences of their attachment to the royal cause.

On the 20th of May, his Lordship arrived at Petersburg in Virginia, where he joined a body of British troops that had been under the command of Major-general Philips ; but the command of which, in consequence of the death of that officer, had devolved upon Brigadier general Arnold. Before this junction he had encountered considerable inconveniencies from the difficulty in procuring provisions and forage ; so that in a letter to Sir Henry Clinton, he informed him, that his cavalry wanted every thing, and his infantry every thing but shoes. He added, that he had experienced the distresses of marching hundreds of miles in a country chiefly hostile, without

without one active or useful friend, without intelligence, and without communication with any part of the country.

On the 26th of June, about six miles from Williamsburg, Lieutenant-colonel Simcoe, and 350 of the queen's rangers, with 80 mounted yagers, were attacked by a much superior body of the Americans; but whom they repulsed with great gallantry and with equal success, making four officers and twenty private men prisoners. The loss of the Americans in this action is said to have been upwards of 120, and that of the British troops not more than 40.

On the 6th of July an action happened near the Green Springs in Virginia, between a reconnoitering party of the Americans under General Wayne, amounting to about 800, and a large part of the British army under Lord Cornwallis; in which the Americans had 127 killed and wounded, and the loss of the royal troops is supposed to have been considerably greater. It was an action in which no small degree of military skill and courage was exhibited by the Americans. In a variety of skirmishes, the Marquis de la Fayette very much distinguished himself, and displayed the utmost ardour in the American cause.

In South-Carolina, an action happened on the 9th of September near the Eutaw Springs, between a large body of British troops under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Stuart and an equal body of Americans, under the command of General Green. It was an obstinate engagement, and lasted near two hours. The British, with a considerable loss, were in the first part of the battle

battle routed in all quarters, but some having taken post in a piquetted garden, and others thrown themselves into a brick house, the eagerness of the American pursuit was considerably checked, and gave Colonel Stuart an opportunity on the evening of the next day, to abandon the Eutaw, and march towards Charleston, taking a number of his wounded, and about one thousand stand of arms.

In the course of the same month, General Arnold was sent on an expedition against New-London, in Connecticut, where he destroyed a great part of the shipping, and an immense quantity of naval stores, European manufactures, and East and West India commodities. The town itself was also burnt, which is said, but untruly, to have been unavoidable, on account of the explosions of great quantities of gunpowder which happened to be in the store-houses that were set on fire. A fort, of which it was thought necessary to gain possession in this expedition, was not taken without considerable loss. This was Fort-Griffwold; which was defended by the Americans with great gallantry, and the assault was made by the English with equal bravery. The British troops entered the works with fixed bayonets, and were opposed with great vigour by the garrison with long spears. After a most obstinate defence of near forty minutes, the assailants gained possession of the fort, in which 85 Americans were found dead, and 60 wounded, most of them mortally; but of the killed, it is painful to observe, that the greater number fell after the British entered the fort, and when resistance had ceased. Of the British troops Major
Montgomery

Montgomery was killed by a spear in entering the American works; and 192 men were also killed and wounded in this expedition.

Notwithstanding the advantage that Lord Cornwallis had obtained over the Americans, his situation in Virginia began by degrees to be very critical; and the rather because he did not receive those reinforcements and supplies from Sir Henry Clinton, of which he had formed expectations, and which he conceived to be necessary to the success of his operations. Indeed, the commander in chief was prevented from sending those reinforcements to Lord Cornwallis which he otherwise might have done, by his fears respecting New-York, against which he entertained great apprehensions that General Washington intended to make a very formidable attack. In fact that able American general had this object in view; and while the attack was in serious contemplation, a letter from him detailing the particulars of the intended operations of the campaign, being intercepted, fell into the hands of Sir Henry Clinton. After the plan was changed, the royal commander was so much under the impression of the intelligence contained in the intercepted letter, that he believed every movement towards Virginia to be a feint, calculated to draw off his attention from the defence of New-York. Under the influence of this opinion he bent his whole force to strengthen that post, and suffered the French and American armies to pass without any molestation. When the first opportunity of striking at them was elapsed, then for the first time he was brought to believe that the allies had
fixed

fixed on Virginia, for the theatre of their combined operations. As truth may be made to answer the purposes of deception, so no feint of attacking New-York, could have been more successful than the real intention. At the same time Gen. Washington, by a variety of judicious military manœuvres, in which he completely out-generalled the British commander, increased his apprehensions about New-York, and prevented him from sending proper assistance to Lord Cornwallis. Having for a considerable time kept Sir Henry Clinton in perpetual alarm in New-York, though with an army much inferior to the garrison of that city, General Washington suddenly quitted his camp at White-plains, crossed the Delaware, and marched towards Virginia, apparently with a design to attack Lord Cornwallis. Sir Henry Clinton then received information, that the Count de Grasse, with a large French fleet, was expected every moment in the Chesapeak, in order to co-operate with General Washington. In the mean time, Lord Cornwallis had taken possession of the posts of York-Town and Gloucester in Virginia. He applied himself with the utmost diligence to fortify these posts, and to render them equally respectable by land and water. His whole force amounted to about 7000 excellent troops. Before his Lordship had fixed himself and army in these posts, a series of manœuvres had taken place between him and the Marquis de la Fayette; in which the British general displayed the boldness of enterprise, and the marquis the judgment of age, blended with the ardor of youth. Fayette, under various pretences, sent the Pennsylvania troops to the south
side

side of James River ; collected a force in Gloucester County : and made sundry excellent arrangements, which he early communicated to Count de Grasse by an officer.

The French and American armies continued their march from the northward, till they arrived at the Head of Elk ; within an hour after they received an express from Count de Grasse, with the joyful account of his arrival and situation. This circumstance will appear the more remarkable, when we consider the original distance of the parties, as well from the scene of action, as from each other, and the various accidents, difficulties, and delays, to which they were all liable. The greatest harmony subsisted between Washington and Rochambeau, which lessened some of the difficulties attending their joint operations. The former being without a sufficiency of money to supply his troops, applied to the count for a loan, which was instantly granted. In order to hasten the arrival of the allied troops, de Grasse selected seven vessels, drawing the least water, to transport them down the Chesapeak-Bay. But the moment they were ready to sail on this service, the count was obliged to prepare for repelling the British fleet. When Mr. de Barras arrived, he sent up those transports he brought with him for the troops : de Grasse after that added to them as many frigates as he could. By the 25th of September all the troops were arrived and landed at Williamsburg, and preparations were made with all possible despatch for putting the army in a situation to move down towards York-Town. General Washington and Count de Rochambeau, with

with their suites and other officers, had reached Williamsburg by hard travelling, on the 14th, eleven days sooner. Here the general found a vessel ready to convey him to the capes of Virginia, sent by Count de Grasse, as he could not with propriety leave his fleet. The commander in chief and the Count de Rochambeau, accompanied by Generals Chastellux, Du Portail, and Knox, immediately proceeded to visit the count on board the *Ville de Paris*. A council was held, and the count de Grasse detailed his engagements to be in the West-Indies at the latter end of October or beginning of November. But he finally agreed to continue in the Chesapeake until the operation against Lord Cornwallis should be decided. After which the company returned.

All the American and French troops formed a junction at Williamsburg. The Marquis de la Fayette had been joined by 3000 under St. Simon some days before the 25th of September. The whole regular force thus collected amounted to between 11 and 12,000 men. The militia of Virginia were also called out to service, and were commanded by Gov. Nelson. On the 27th Gen. Washington gave out in general orders—
 “If the enemy should be tempted to meet the army on its march, the general particularly enjoins the troops to place their principal reliance on the bayonet, that they may prove the *vanity of the loss which the British make of their peculiar prowess in deciding battles with that weapon.*” The next morning the army marched, and halted about two miles from York-Town just before sun-set. The officers and soldiers were ordered to lie on their arms the whole night. On the 30th, Col. Scammel

Scammel (being officer of the day) in approaching the enemy's outer works, to see if they had really left them, was mortally wounded and taken prisoner by a party of the enemy's horse, which lay secreted. This day Lord Cornwallis was closely invested in York Town. The French extended from the river above the town to a morass in the centre, where they were met by the Americans, who occupied the opposite side from the river to that spot. The post at Gloucester Point was at the same time, invested by the Duke de Lauzun with his legion, and a number of Virginia militia under Gen. Weeden.

Before the troops left Williamsburgh, Gen. Washington received a letter from the Count de Grasse, informing him, that in case of the appearance of a British fleet, the count conceived it to be his duty to go out and meet them at sea, instead of fighting in a confined situation. This information exceedingly alarmed the general, who instantly saw the probability of the British fleet's manœuvring in such a manner, as to reinforce or withdraw Lord Cornwallis. To prevent a measure pregnant with so much evil, his excellency wrote to the count on the 26th: " I am unable to describe the painful anxiety under which I have laboured since the reception of your letter of 23d instant. It obliges me warmly to urge a perseverance in the plan agreed upon. The attempt upon York, under the protection of your shipping is as certain of success as a superior force and a superiority of measures can render any military operation. The capture of the British army is a matter so important in itself and in
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its consequences, that it must greatly tend to put an end to the war. If your excellency quits the Bay, an access is open to relieve York, of which the enemy will instantly avail themselves. The consequence of this will be, not only the disgrace, but the probable disbanding of the whole army; for the present seat of war being such, as absolutely precludes the use of waggons, from the great number of large rivers which intersect the country, there will be a total want of provisions. This province has been so exhausted, that subsistence must be drawn from a distance, and that can only be done by a superior fleet in the Bay. I earnestly beg your excellency to consider, that if by moving your fleet from the situation agreed upon, we lose the present opportunity, we shall never hereafter have it in our power to strike so decisive a stroke, and the period of an honourable peace will be further distant than ever. Supposing the force, said to have arrived under Adm. Digby, to be true, their whole force united cannot be such as to give them any hopes of success in the attacking your fleet. I am to press your excellency to persevere in the scheme so happily concerted between us. Permit me to add, that the absence of your fleet from the Bay may frustrate our design upon the garrison at York. For, in the present situation, Lord Cornwallis might evacuate the place with the loss of his artillery, baggage, and a few men; sacrifices, which would be highly justifiable, from the desire of saving the body of the army.—The Marquis de la Fayette carries this. He is not to pass the Cape for fear of accident, in case you should be at sea." This letter with the Marquis's persuasions had the desired

fired effect; and the same hour when the combined army appeared before York-Town, the French fleet was brought to the mouth of the river, and by their position effectually covered all subsequent military operations, and prevented either the retreat or succour of Lord Cornwallis's army by water. The posts of York and Gloucester were the most favourable of any in the country for besieging the British, and preventing their escape, when the siege was supported by a superior land and naval force.

Lord Cornwallis was sufficiently strong for fighting the Marquis de la Fayette, even after he had been joined by St. Simon; and he is thought to have been mistaken in not engaging them either separately or together. The moment he heard that the allied troops were at the Head of Elk, and that de Grasse was arrived with so powerful a fleet at the Chesapeake, his lordship should have pushed off for Charleston. Therefore it was that Gen. Green wrote to Baron Steuben on the 17th,—"Nothing can save Cornwallis but a rapid retreat through North Carolina to Charleston." His Lordship's conduct was influenced by an expectation of a reinforcement from Sir Henry Clinton, and a full persuasion that those exertions would be made at New-York, and such a naval strength would arrive from thence in time, as would effectually relieve him. This may be gathered from his writing on the 16th: "If I had no hopes of relief, I would rather risk an action than defend my half-finished works, But as you say, Adm. Digby is hourly expected, and have promised exertions to assist me, I do not think myself justifiable in putting the fate of the war

war upon so desperate an attempt." He must have meant that of fighting Fayette and St. Simon, for the troops of Generals Washington and Rochambeau did not arrive till afterward. Fayette had taken a strong position : but the attempt would not have appeared so desperate to his lordship, had he known the real number of the enemy.

The trenches were opened by the combined armies on the 6th of October, at 600 yards distance from Cornwallis's works. The night being dark and rainy was well adapted to the service, in which there was not a man hurt. In the afternoon of the 9th, the redoubts and batteries being completed, a general discharge of 24 and 18 pounders and of 10 inch mortars commenced by the Americans on the right, and continued all night without intermission. The next morning, the French opened their batteries on the left, and a tremendous roar of cannon and mortars was continued for six or eight hours without ceasing. There was an incessant fire through the succeeding night. By one of the French shells, the *Charon* of 44 guns and a transport ship were set on fire and burnt. The following morning, the enemy's other guard ship was fired by one of the American shells and consumed. At night the besiegers opened their second parallel, 200 yards from the works of the besieged. The Americans had 3 men killed and 1 wounded by a French cannon, which fired too low. On the 14th in the evening, an American battalion was ordered into the second parallel, and to begin a large battery in advance on the right. A few minutes before they began to break ground, the enemy kept

kept a constant fire upon them, one of their shells burst in the centre of the battalion, and killed a captain and one private, and wounded a second. The fire of the besieged was very great through the night ; and it was thought that the besiegers lost as many men within 24 hours at this period, as they had done nearly the whole siege before.

The redoubts, which were advanced about 200 yards on the left of the British, greatly impeded the progress of the combined armies. An attack on these was therefore proposed.—To excite a spirit of emulation the reduction of the one was committed to the French ; of the other to the Americans. The light infantry of the latter were commanded by the Marquis de la Fayette ; and the service was allotted to a select corps. The Marquis said to General Washington——“ The troops should retaliate on the British, for the cruelties they have practised.” The general answered——“ You have full command, and may order as you please.” The marquis ordered the party to remember New London, and to retaliate, by putting the men in the redoubt to the sword after having carried it. The men marched to the assault with unloaded arms, at dark on the night of the 14th, passed the abatis, and palisades, and attacking on all sides carried the redoubt in a few minutes, with the loss of 8 killed and 28 wounded. Lieut. Col. Laurens personally took the commanding officer. The colonel’s humanity and that of the Americans so effectually overcame their resentments, that they spared the British. When bringing them off as prisoners, they said among themselves——“ Why ! how is this ? We were ordered to put them to death.”

death." Being asked by others why they had not done it, they answered,—“ We could not, when they begged and cried so upon their knees for their lives.” About five of the British were killed, and 1 major, 1 captain, and 1 ensign, and 20 privates captured. Colonel Hamilton, who conducted the enterprise with much address and intrepidity, in his report to the marquis, mentioned, to the honour of his detachment—“ that incapable of imitating examples of barbarity, and forgetting recent provocations, they spared every man that ceased to resist.” The French were equally successful on their side. They carried the redoubt committed to them with rapidity, but lost a considerable number of men. These two works being taken into the second parallel facilitated the subsequent operations.

The British were so weakened by the fire of the combined armies, but chiefly by sickness that lord Cornwallis could not venture any considerable number in the making of sallies. The present emergency however was such, that a little before day break of the morning of the 16th he ordered a sortie of about 400 men, under Lieut. Col. Abercromby to attack two batteries which seemed to be in the greatest forwardness, and to spike the guns. Two detachments were appointed to the service ; and both attacks were made with such impetuosity, that the redoubts which covered the batteries, were forced, and eleven pieces of cannon spiked. The French troops who had the guard of that part of the entrenchment, suffered considerably. This successful action did honour to the officers and troops engaged, but produced no essential benefit. The cannon, being

ing hastily spiked, were soon rendered again serviceable; and the combined forces were so industrious, that they finished their batteries, opened them about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, and fired briskly. Their several batteries were now covered with near 100 pieces of heavy ordnance; and the British works were so destroyed, that they could scarcely show a single gun.

Thus was lord Cornwallis reduced to the necessity of preparing for a surrender, or of attempting an escape. He determined upon the latter. Boats were prepared under different pretexts, for the reception of the troops by ten at night, in order to pass them over to Gloucester Point. The arrangements were made with the utmost secrecy. The intention was to abandon the baggage, and to leave a detachment behind to capitulate for the town's people, and for the sick and wounded, his lordship had also prepared a letter on the subject, to be delivered to Gen. Washington after his departure. The first embarkation had arrived at Gloucester Point, and the greater part of the troops were already landed, when the weather, which was before most moderate and calm, instantly changed to a violent storm of wind and rain. The boats with the remaining troops were all driven down the river, and the design of passing was not only entirely frustrated, but the absence of the boats rendered it impossible to bring back the troops from Gloucester. Thus weakened and divided, the army was in the most imminent danger. The boats however returned: and the troops were brought back without much loss in the course of the forenoon.

Matters

Matters were now hastening to a crisis, which could not be longer averted. The British works were sinking under the weight of the American and French artillery. The continuance of the allied fire, only for a few more hours, would reduce them to such a condition that it would be rashness to attempt their defence.—The time for expecting relief from New-York was elapsed. The strength and spirit of the royal troops were worn down by constant watching, and unremitting fatigue. Lord Cornwallis therefore sent out a flag at ten o'clock in the morning of the 17th, with a letter to General Washington, requesting a cessation of arms for twenty-four hours, and that commissioners might be appointed for digesting the terms of capitulation. An answer was given; and a reply forwarded in the afternoon; to which Gen. Washington rejoined the next day, declaring the general basis on which the capitulation might take place. Commissioners were appointed—on the side of the allies, Viscount de Noailles and Lieut. Col. Laurens, whose father was in close confinement in the tower, while the son was drawing up articles by which an English nobleman and a British army became prisoners. While settling the terms, the Viscount wished his Lordship to state, upon his honour, the value of the military chest. His Lordship declared it to be about 1800*l.* sterling. The viscount observed that the sum was so trifling, that it was not worth bringing into the account, and therefore was for leaving it entirely at Cornwallis's disposal. Laurens interfered, and observed to his colleague, that though it was natural for a subject of one of the greatest monarchs in

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in the world to think 1800*l.* an inconsiderable sum, yet, for his part, being a subject of an infant state, struggling with infinite inconveniences, and where money was very rare, he must deem it a very considerable sum; and therefore he insisted that it should be accounted for. This was accordingly done; and afterwards it was paid into the hands of Timothy Pickering, Esq. American quarter-master general, to the amount of 2113*l.* 6*s.* sterling, estimating the dollar at 4*s.* 8*d.*—There being a manifest impropriety in the Americans stipulating for the return of the negroes, while they themselves were avowedly fighting for their own liberties, they covered their intention of repossessing them, under these general terms with which the fourth article closed—“It is understood, that any property obviously belonging to the inhabitants of these states, in the possession of the garrison, shall be subject to be reclaimed.”

The posts of York and Gloucester were surrendered on the 19th. The honour of marching out with colours flying, which had been denied Gen. Lincoln, was now refused to Lord Cornwallis; and Lincoln was appointed to receive the submission of the royal army at York-Town, precisely in the same way his own had been conducted about 18 months before. The troops of every kind that surrendered prisoners of war, exceeded 7000 men; but such was the number of sick and wounded, that there were only 3800 capable of bearing arms. The officers and soldiers retained their baggage and effects. Fifteen hundred seamen partook of the fate of the garrison.

rison. The Guadaloupe frigate of 24 guns, and a number of transports were surrendered to the conquerors: about twenty transports had been sunk or burnt during the siege. The land forces became prisoners to congress: but the seamen and ships were assigned to the French admiral. The Americans obtained a numerous artillery, 75 brass ordnance and 69 iron cannon, howitzers and mortars.

Lord Cornwallis endeavoured to obtain permission for the British and German troops to return to their respective countries, under engagements not to serve against France or America; and also an indemnity for those who had joined him: but he was obliged to consent, that the former should be retained in the governments of Virginia, Pennsylvania and Maryland; and that the latter, whose case lay with the civil authority of the states, should be given to the unconditional mercy of their countrymen. His lordship, however, obtained permission for the Bonetta sloop of war to pass unexamined, which gave an opportunity of screening those of the royalists who were most obnoxious to the resentment of the Americans. He took care also to have it stipulated, that no article of the capitulation should be infringed on pretext of reprisal. His lordship, with all civil and military officers, except those of the latter who were necessarily left behind for the protection and government of the soldiers, were at liberty to go upon parole, either to Great Britain or New-York. He acknowledged in his public letter, that the treatment which he and the army had received after the surrender, was perfectly good and proper. His lordship
spoke

spoke in these warm terms of the kindness and attention shown to them, by the French officers in particular—"Their deliberate sensibility of our situation, their generous and pressing offers of money, both public and private, to any amount, has really gone beyond what I can possibly describe."

On the 20th of October, the American commander in chief, congratulated in general orders the army on the glorious event of the preceding day; and tendered to the generals, officers and privates, his thanks in the warmest language. He with gratitude returned his sincere acknowledgments to Gov. Nelson of Virginia, for the succours received from him and the militia under him. To spread the general joy in all hearts, he commanded that those of the army, who were under arrest, should be pardoned and set at liberty. The orders closed with—Divine service shall be performed to-morrow in the different brigades and divisions. The commander in chief recommends, that all the troops that are not upon duty, do assist at it with a serious deportment, and that sensibility of heart which the recollection of the surprising and particular interposition of Providence in our favour, claims."

The British fleet and army destined for the relief of Lord Cornwallis, arrived off the Chesapeake on the 24th; but on receiving authentic accounts of his surrender, they returned to New-York. A few days after their first return, the fleet was increased by four ships of the line; but such was the superiority of the French by de Barras's junction with the Count de Grasse, that nothing short of desperate circumstances could justify

justify attempting a fresh engagement. These circumstances however existing, the British naval commanders used all possible expedition in refitting the ships, with the design of extricating Cornwallis and his army. The delay occasioned by this business seemed to be compensated by the arrival of Prince William and Torbay men of war from Jamaica. It was determined that every exertion should be used both by the fleet and army to form a junction with the British force in Virginia. Sir Henry Clinton embarked with about 7000 of his best forces. It was nevertheless the 19th of October before the fleet could fall down to the Hook. They amounted to 25 ships of the line, 2 fifties, and 8 frigates. When they appeared off the Chesapeak, the French made no manner of movement, though they had 36 ships of the line, being satisfied with their present success. The main error, which paved the way to the capture of the British army, appears to be the omission of sending a larger force from the West Indies than that which was despatched under Sir Samuel Hood. A few more ships in the first instance might have prevented that most woful disappointment with which both Sir Henry Clinton and Lord Cornwallis have been painfully exercised.

Every argument and persuasion was used with the Count de Grasse to induce him to aid the combined army in an operation against Charleston; but the advanced season, the orders of his court, and his own engagements to be punctual to a certain time fixed for his ulterior operations, prevented his compliance. His instructions had
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fixed his departure even to the 15th of October ; he however early engaged to stay longer. Could he have extended his co-operation two months more, there would most probably have been a total extirpation of the British force in the Carolinas and Georgia. On the 27th, the troops under the Marquis St. Simon began to embark for the West Indies ; and about the 5th of November, the Count de Grasse sailed from the Chesapeake.

The Marquis De La Fayette being about to leave America, the following expressions made a part of the orders issued by him previous to his departure from York Town—" Orders for the first brigade of light infantry, issued by major-general the marquis de la Fayette, Oct. 31, 1781. In the moment the major-general leaves this place, he wishes once more to express his gratitude to the brave corps of light infantry, who for nine months past have been the companions of his fortunes. He will never forget, that with them alone of regular troops, he had the good fortune to manœuvre before an army, which after all its reductions is still six times superior to the regular force he had at the time." Four days after, this brigade embarked for the Head of Elk ; the invalids of the American troops destined for the northward having previously done it. The New Jersey and part of the New York lines marched by land, and were to join the troops which went by water at the Head of Elk. Such cavalry as were wanted by General Green marched several days before ; and on the 5th of November a reinforcement marched under Gen. St. Clair,

Clair, in order to strengthen him for further offensive operations in South Carolina. The season of the year was unfavourable for the return of the troops to the North river, so that they suffered much in doing it. But they and their comrades had been blessed with a series of the most delightful weather from the beginning of their march toward York Town, until the reduction of the place.

No sooner had congress received and read General Washington's letter, giving information of the reduction of the British army, than they resolved, on the 24th of October, that they would at two o'clock go in procession to the Dutch Lutheran Church, and return thanks to Almighty God, for crowning the allied arms of the United States and France, with success by the surrender of the whole British army under the command of Earl Cornwallis. This army had spread waste and ruin over the face of Virginia for 400 miles on the sea-coast, and for 200 to the westward. Their numbers enabled them to go where they pleased; and their rage for plunder disposed them to take whatever they esteemed most valuable. The reduction of such an army occasioned transports of joy in the breast of every American. But that joy was increased and maintained, by the further consideration of the influence it would have in procuring such a peace as was desired. Two days after the congress issued a proclamation for religiously observing throughout the United States, the 13th of December, as a day of thanksgiving and prayer. On the 29th of October, they resolved, that thanks should be presented to Gen. Washington, Count de Rochambeau

chambeau, Count de Grasse, and the officers of the different corps, and the men under their command, for their services in the reduction of Lord Cornwallis.—They also resolved to erect in York Town a marble column, adorned with emblems of the alliance between the United States and his Most Christian Majesty; and inscribed with a succinct narrative of the surrender of the British army. Two stands of colours taken from the royal troops, under the capitulation, were presented to Gen. Washington, in the name of the United States in Congress assembled; and two pieces of field ordnance so taken, were by a resolve of Congress, to be presented by Gen. Washington to Count de Rochambeau, with a short memorandum engraved thereon, “that Congress were induced to present them from considerations of the illustrious part which he bore in effectuating the surrender.” It was further resolved to request the Chevalier de Luzerne, to inform his most Christian Majesty, that it was the wish of Congress, that Count de Grasse might be permitted to accept a testimony of their approbation, similar to that which was to be presented to Count de Rochambeau. Legislative bodies, executive councils, city corporations, and many private societies, presented congratulatory addresses to Gen. Washington accompanied with the warmest acknowledgments to Count de Rochambeau, Count de Grasse and the other officers in the service of his Most Christian Majesty. Places of public worship resounded with grateful praise to the Lord of Hosts, the God of battles, before, at, and after the day of thanksgiving. The singular interesting event of captivating a
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second royal army, produced such strong emotions in numbers, both of ministers and people, that they could not wait the arrival of the day.

CHAP. X.

Sir Guy Carleton arrives at New-York with powers to treat of Peace—Different places evacuated by the British troops—Independency of America acknowledged—The army disbanded, and Gen. Washington resigns his Commission—Loss of Men and Treasure by the War.

AS no rational expectations now remained of a subjugation of the colonies, the military operations that succeeded in America were of little consequence. Some inconsiderable actions and skirmishes did indeed take place after that event; in which the refugees chiefly distinguished themselves, and discovered an inveterate animosity against the Americans. On the 5th of May 1782, Sir Guy Carleton arrived at New-York, being appointed to the command of the British troops in America in the room of Sir Henry Clinton. Two days after his arrival, he wrote a letter to General Washington, acquainting him, that Admiral Digby was joined with himself in a commission to treat of peace with the people of America; transmitting to him at the same time, some papers

papers tending to manifest the pacific disposition of the government and people of Britain towards those of America. He also desired a passport for Mr. Morgan, who was appointed to transmit a similar letter of compliment to congress. General Washington declined signing any passport till he had taken the opinion of Congress upon that measure; and by them he was directed to refuse any passport for such a purpose. However, another letter was sent to General Washington, dated the 2d of August, signed by Sir Guy Carleton and Rear-admiral Digby, in which they informed him, that they were acquainted by authority, that negociations for a general peace had already commenced at Paris; that Mr. Grenville was invested with full powers to treat with all the parties at war; and was then at Paris in the execution of his commission. They farther informed him, that his Britannic majesty, in order to remove all obstacles to that peace which he so ardently wished to restore, had commanded his ministers to direct Mr. Grenville, that the independency of the thirteen provinces should be proposed by him, in the first instance, instead of making it the condition of a general treaty. But some jealousies were entertained by the Americans, that it was the design of the British court either to disunite them, or to bring them to treat of a peace separately from their ally the king of France; they therefore resolved, that any man, or body of men, who should presume to make any separate or partial convention or agreement with the king of Great-Britain, or with any commissioner or commissioners under the crown of Great-Britain, ought to be considered and treated

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ed as open and avowed enemies of the United States of America; and also, that those states could not with propriety hold any conference or treaty with any commissioners on the part of Great Britain, unless they should, as a preliminary thereto, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or else, in positive or express terms, acknowledge the independency of the said states. They likewise resolved, that any propositions which might be made by the court of Great Britain, in any manner tending to violate the treaty subsisting between them and the king of France, ought to be treated with every mark of indignity and contempt.

In the month of June, the town of Savannah, and the whole province of Georgia, were evacuated by the British troops; as was also Charleston, South-Carolina, about the close of the year. In the mean time, the negotiations for peace being continued, provisional articles of peace were signed at Paris on the 30th of November by the commissioner of his Britannic Majesty and the American commissioners, in which his Majesty acknowledged the united colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island, and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia, to be "free, sovereign, and independent states." They had constituted themselves such on the 4th of July, 1776; they had been acknowledged such by the French king on the 30th of January 1778, when he concluded with them a treaty of amity and commerce; Holland had acknowledged them as such April 19th 1782;

1782; Sweden acknowledged them as such February 5th 1783; Denmark the 25th of February, Spain in March, and Russia in July, the same year.

The Definitive Treaty was signed on the 3d of September, 1783; and in Aug. Sir Guy Carleton, had received his final orders for the evacuation of New-York. Tuesday, November the 25th, was the day agreed upon for this evacuation. To prevent every disorder which might otherwise ensue from such an event, the American troops under the command of Gen. Knox marched from Haerlem to the Bowery-lane in the morning. They remained there till about one o'clock, when the British forces left the posts in the Bowery, and the Americans marched forward and took possession of the city. This being effected, Gen. Knox, and a number of citizens on horseback rode to the Bowery to receive their excellencies Gen. Washington and Governor Clinton, who, with their suites, made their public entry into the city on horseback; followed by the lieut. governor and the members of council, for the temporary government of the southern district, four abreast—Gen. Knox and the officers of the army, eight abreast—citizens on horseback, eight abreast—the speaker of the assembly and citizens on foot, eight a breast. The procession ceased at Cape's Tavern. The governor gave a public dinner at Frances's Tavern; at which the commander in chief and other general officers were present. The arrangements for the whole business were so well made and executed, that the most admirable tranquility succeeded through the day and night. Soon after this event, the
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soldiers of the American army, cheerfully resuming the character of citizens, returned peaceably to their respective homes; while their beloved and ever honoured commander, having taken a pathetic leave of his officers, repaired to Annapolis, and on the 23d of December, at an audience with congress (perhaps the most singular and interesting that ever occurred) rising with great dignity, he delivered this address.

“—Mr. President, the great events on which my resignation depended having at length taken place, I have now the honour of offering my sincere congratulations to Congress, and of presenting myself before them, to surrender into their hands the charge committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country.

“ Happy in the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States of becoming a respectable nation, I resign with satisfaction the appointment I accepted with diffidence—a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task; which however was superseded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the Union, and the patronage of Heaven.

“ The successful termination of the war has verified the most sanguine expectations; and my gratitude for the interposition of Providence, and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, increases with every review of the momentous contest.

“ While I repeat my obligations to the army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings

ings not to acknowledge in this place, the peculiar services and distinguished merits of the gentlemen who have been attached to my person during the war. It was impossible the choice of confidential officers to compose my family should have been more fortunate. Permit me, Sir, to recommend in particular those who have continued in the service to the present moment, as worthy of the favorable notice and patronage of Congress.

“ I consider it as an indispensable duty to close this last act of my official life by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them to his holy keeping.

“ Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action, and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission, and take leave of all the employments of public life.”

The general was so powerfully impressed, with the great and interesting scenes that crowded in upon his imagination while speaking, that he would have been scarce able to have uttered more than the closing period. He advanced and delivered to the President his commission, with a copy of his address. Having resumed his place, he received in a standing posture the following answer of Congress; which the president delivered with elegance; but not without such a sensibility as changed, and spread a degree of paleness over his countenance.

“ Sir, The United States in Congress assembled receive, with emotions too affecting for ut-
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terance, the solemn resignation of the authorities under which you have led their troops with success through a perilous and doubtful war. Called upon by your country to defend its invaded rights, you accepted the sacred charge, before it had formed alliances, and whilst it was without funds or a government to support you. You have conducted the great military contest with wisdom and fortitude, invariably regarding the rights of the civil power through all disasters and changes. You have by the love and confidence of your fellow-citizens, enabled them to display their martial genius, and transmit their fame to posterity.—You have persevered, till these United States, aided by a magnanimous king and nation, have been enabled under a just Providence, to close the war in freedom, safety, and independence; on which happy event we sincerely join you in congratulations.

“ Having defended the standard of liberty in this new world; having taught a lesson useful to those who inflict and to those who feel oppression, you retire from the great theatre of action, with the blessings of your fellow-citizens—but the glory of your virtues will not terminate with your military command, it will continue to animate the remotest ages.

“ We feel with you our obligations to the army in general, and will particularly charge ourselves with the interests, of those confidential officers, who have attended your person to this affecting moment.

“ We join you in commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, beseeching him to dispose the hearts
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and minds of its citizens, to improve the opportunity afforded them, of becoming a happy and respectable nation. And for you we address to him our earnest prayers, that a life so beloved, may be fostered with all his care ; that your days may be happy as they have been illustrious ; and that he will finally give you that reward which this world cannot give."

Having thus resigned his commission into the hands of the president of that honourable body, he retired from public life amidst the acclamations of his grateful and admiring countrymen.

According to the report of the committee appointed for that purpose, *the Foreign Debt* of the United States incurred by the war, amounted to 7,885,085 dollars, and the *Domestic Debt* to 34,115,290, total, at 4s. 6d. each, equal to 9,450,084l. Sterling, the interest of which at 6 *per cent.* is 567,005l. But the cost to Great Britain is moderately computed at 115,654,914l. and the additional annual burthen of it 4,557,575l since January 1775. As to the loss of men during the war, the states of America, it is supposed, lost by the sword and in prison near 80,000 men ; and by the British returns at New-York, the number of soldiers killed in the service amounted to 43,633.

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